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Representing Shakespeare's "Brave New World": Latin American Appropriations of "The Tempest".

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**REPRESENTING SHAKESPEARE'S "BRAVE NEW WORLD":
LATIN AMERICAN APPROPRIATIONS OF *THE TEMPEST***

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of English

by

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In memory of Dr. Josephine Roberts.

To my mother, for my life.

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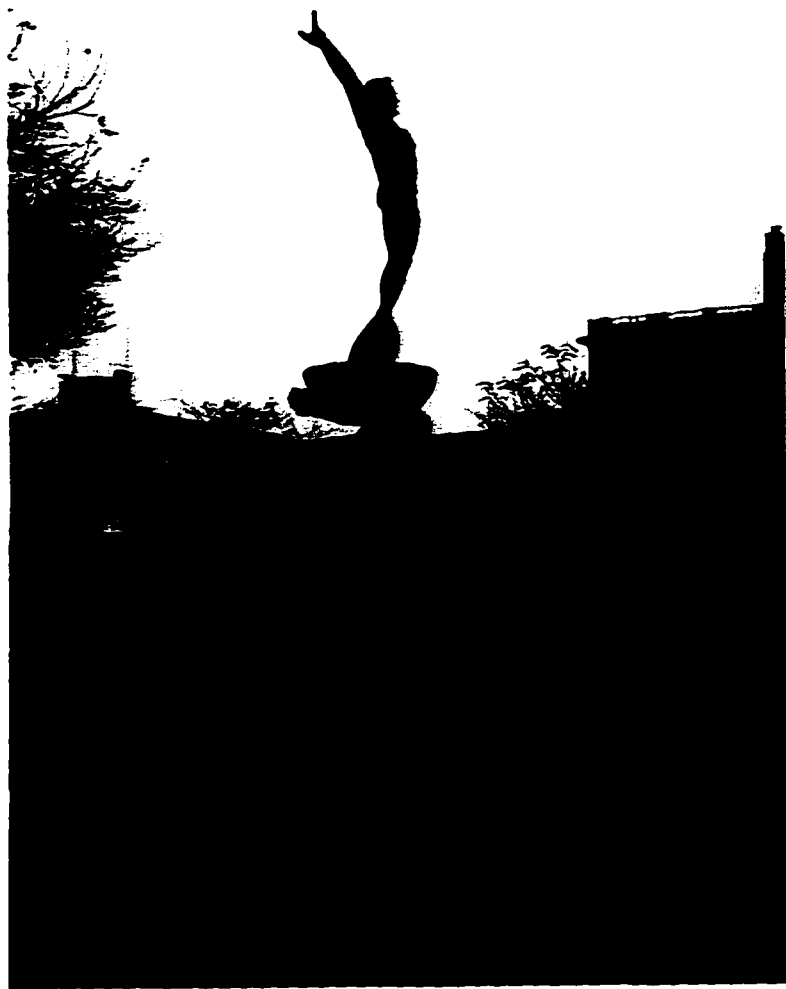
Ultimately, the research of Latin American productions of *The Tempest* would have not been possible without the contribution of many theater people, particularly Tomás Vidiella and El Conventillo, Willy Semler and La Bordada, Katiuska Rodríguez and Rajatabla, and Magdalena Solórzano and Por Amor Al Arte. I likewise thank Gustavo Nieto and Andrés Occupatti for getting me in touch with Rajatabla, and Jesús Sánchez Barrera for helping me contact Magdalena Solórzano.

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ARIEL AND CALIBAN
(An Homage to José Enrique Rodó)
Statue by Chilean artist Totila Albert,
displayed in "Plaza de la Aviación" in Parque
Balmaceda, Providencia, Santiago de Chile.

ABSTRACT

Representing Shakespeare's "Brave New World" is a descriptive analysis of Latin American appropriations of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. The first part explores the written appropriations by José Enrique Rodó, Roberto Fernández Retamar, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Aimé Césaire and George Lamming. The second part analyzes four major dramatic appropriations of *The Tempest*: a 1989 production by the Chilean company El Conventillo, a 1994 adaptation by the Chilean company La Bordada, a 1991 version by the Venezuelan company Rajatabla and a 1992 production by the Mexican company Por Amor Al Arte.

Representing Shakespeare's "Brave New World" also explores the connection between these Latin American appropriations of *The Tempest* and the culture and literature of Latin America. Specific consideration is given to these appropriations' treatment of the Latin American "third view" of the world (historically symbolized first by Ariel and then by Caliban), magical realism, the trickster hero, and the "carnivalization"/"cannibalization" of Shakespeare's text.

Finally, Representing Shakespeare's "Brave New World" argues that some Latin American appropriations not only respond to the colonialist subtext of *The Tempest*, but read the play as the comedy of Latin America with Caliban as its chief comedian, thus restoring the play's celebratory mode.

"CANNIBALIZING" *THE TEMPEST*

Of all the plays of William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* speaks most clearly to Latin America. It speaks the language of its colonialism and it evokes the magical reality of the region. In a sense, *The Tempest* is only possible in Latin America, whose people live the play's conflicts and magic as their daily reality. This dissertation aims to survey and analyze how contemporary Latin America has appropriated (or, in Oswald de Andrade's term, "cannibalized") *The Tempest*. My goal is to provide insight into Latin American culture as well as a fresh perspective on Shakespeare's play.

There is little precedent for my work because current scholarship contains almost no information about Shakespeare in Latin America. Most Shakespearean scholarship focuses on Shakespeare and his times. Latin American cultural studies, on the other hand, seldom include appropriations of Shakespeare. Works on performance commonly ignore Shakespearean stage productions from Latin America. Therefore, I decided to begin my research by consulting the principal theater journals of each Latin American country. The enormity of this task and the impossibility of borrowing the theater journals of all Latin American countries from the United States forced me to narrow my search. Since I had learned from my experience in Chile that most professional theater

in Latin America originated in each country's university theater, I decided I could focus my investigation on those countries possessing stable university theater departments or companies. That narrowed my search to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Panamá, Costa Rica, and México. I then determined that a time frame of ten years, from 1985 to 1995 (the year I started my research), would be adequate for a dissertation that intended to analyze contemporary stage appropriations of Shakespeare's plays. Lastly, after looking at the overall picture of Shakespearean performances in each country, I decided that I would choose only one representative play to give focus to my work.

I chose *The Tempest* for two reasons: first, during my research, I found out that this play had been the object of responses and analysis by Caribbean writers for the past twenty years. *The Tempest*, then, had importantly shaped the view of Shakespeare in at least one significant region of Latin America. Second, unlike *Romeo and Juliet* or *Hamlet*, *The Tempest* is not a box-office hit. That would ensure the play was produced for other reasons than just turning a profit.

My study begins with the work of those Latin American authors who have responded to *The Tempest* by writing essays, novels, drama and poetry.¹ Two of these works are essays on the sociopolitical and cultural

identity of Latin America. The first, *Ariel*, was written at the turn of the century by the Uruguayan thinker José Enrique Rodó. The second, entitled "Caliban" partly as response to Rodó's essay, was written in 1971 by the Cuban Roberto Fernández Retamar. These two essays have influenced the thinking of artists and political figures throughout Latin America for decades.

After analyzing these essays, I turn to fictional responses to or rewritings of *The Tempest*. I begin by analyzing a selection of poems by the Barbadian Edward Kamau Brathwaite. This selection ranges from his early poetry in the trilogy *The Arrivants* (1967) to one of his latest collections, *Middle Passages* (1992). Brathwaite consistently uses characters from *The Tempest* to typify the people of his native Caribbean in his prose as well as his poetry. His work illustrates how the world of Shakespeare's play continues to mirror the contemporary reality of the Caribbean colonial.

I next analyze the play *Une Tempête* (*A Tempest*) by the Martinican poet Aimé Césaire. Césaire adapted Shakespeare's play in 1969 for "a black theater" (black actors performing for a black audience) by transforming the colonial subtext present in *The Tempest* into a conflict between Prospero, the white European colonizer and Caliban, the black colonized African. I wish to argue that *A Tempest* is one of many instances in which Césaire

has tried to reshape the socio-political and cultural discourse in which black colonials still live. That is, *A Tempest* must be understood in the context of Césaire's other works, including his political interventions in France's Assemblée Nationale. After all, this adaptor of *The Tempest* became famous for coining the term "négritude" to represent the literary and political movement that asserted the value and dignity of African culture and traditions.

To close this first section, I discuss the 1972 novel *Water With Berries* by the Barbadian novelist George Lamming. I have framed my analysis of Lamming's novel with selections from one of his previous works, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960), in which Lamming also uses characters and themes from *The Tempest*, this time to illustrate his experiences as a self-exiled colonial writer.

These five writers show a deep understanding of the characters, themes, and conflicts in *The Tempest* as well as a keen interest in translating those elements into explorations of Latin American issues. Because at least two of those issues, colonialism and continental identity, remain central to the understanding of Latin American culture, these five writers, particularly Rodó, Césaire and Lamming, have already been the subject of varied studies by New Historicists as well as Latin American scholars. Nonetheless, I believe this dissertation fills

some important gaps in criticism. First, the appropriations by Brathwaite, Césaire and Lamming have been studied as colonial responses to European discourse, but not as transformations of Shakespeare. Second, both Rodó and Brathwaite have been analyzed out of context: Rodó's *Ariel*, for instance, has repeatedly been studied as an "anti-yankee" tract because its author briefly condemned the United States' utilitarianism.² Studies of Brathwaite, on the other hand, have overlooked Brathwaite's use of conflicts and characters from *The Tempest* as central elements throughout his poetic production, not merely in one or two poems whose names allude to Shakespeare's play. In other words, critics have, generally, read and commented on Brathwaite's poem entitled "Caliban" and ignored the rest of his work. I hope that this dissertation will, if nothing else, encourage others to study the outstanding work of such a stimulating and insightful poet.

Furthermore, by focusing on only one aspect of these writers' work (their rejection of European colonial discourse, for instance), many critics have lumped these appropriations into extended survey articles of "Third World" interpretations of *The Tempest*, some including responses from the diverse cultures of Africa as well as Latin America.³ Obviously, in order to stress their similarities, frequently to prove some homogenizing

thesis, such survey articles ignore the writers' considerable differences. In this dissertation, I have analyzed each writer's response to Shakespeare's *Tempest* individually and at length, often with reference to their other works, in an attempt to discover their unique responses to Shakespeare's play.

Finally, and most importantly for my later analysis of Latin American productions of *The Tempest*, I argue that these works have had an enduring influence on the national, regional, and even continental image Latin Americans have of themselves. The theses of Rodó and Fernández Retamar, for instance, can be traced in other artistic expressions such as popular songs (see Appendix A) and, as I hope to demonstrate, the theater.

The second section of this dissertation is devoted to the analysis of the four Latin American productions of *The Tempest* that I could discover between 1985-1995.⁴ My intention here is threefold: first, I wish to convey the experiences these theater companies from Chile, Venezuela, and Mexico had when translating and adapting *The Tempest* into the context of Latin American theater. Second, I want to record and compare their particular interpretations of the play. Third, I hoped to assess the general reaction of the audiences of these appropriations. To investigate the productions themselves, I have used two methods: first, I interviewed the members of the original cast (and,

whenever possible, the production's director, translator, and technical crew). I always asked the same questions, although the format of the interviews sometimes varied.⁵ Then, while I was conducting interviews, I compiled as much information as I could about the critical (and sometimes audience) reception of each production, reading contemporary reviews and conducting further interviews. I also secured the textual translations of *The Tempest* used by the different companies. For one of the Chilean productions, I was fortunate enough to get the translation that showed how the players had modified the text for the stage. In the case of the Mexican production, the company generously gave me a videotape of one of its performances. The translations of all interviews and most reviews are mine.

The four productions analyzed here come from what Latin Americans consider completely different regions of their continent.⁶ In this respect, at least, the productions form a varied sample of theatrical approaches to *The Tempest*. The analysis begins with two productions from Chile. The first was produced in 1989, during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, by Tomás Vidiella's El Conventillo, a commercial company known in Chile for walking the fine line between "official" theater and "political" theater.⁷ The second Chilean adaptation of *The Tempest* was produced in 1994 by La Bordada, a company

originally formed in the theater department of the Universidad Católica de Chile, and directed by the inventive actor/professor Willy Semler. The third production of *The Tempest* I analyze came from Venezuela. Originally developed for a Venezuelan audience and enacted by the cast of La Compañía Nacional in 1987 under guest director Carlos Giménez, this interpretation was revived five years later by Giménez' own company, Rajatabla, to be presented at the 1991 New York Shakespeare Festival. The last adaptation in my study was produced in Mexico in 1992, the last in a series of four *Tempest* productions by Magdalena Solórzano's company Por Amor Al Arte.

Although my aim in this dissertation has been more to record and catalogue various Latin American appropriations of *The Tempest* than to make them illustrate a preconceived thesis, I nevertheless came into this study with the belief that I would find some pattern, a "Latin American" way to interpret *The Tempest*. After two years of extensive research, I have learned not to expect a single, unified response from such diverse cultures. Even though I could not find the "Latin American" way of reading *The Tempest*, in the process of analyzing these appropriations I discovered some common concerns.

First, and most obviously, several of these appropriations identify the colonial subtext in *The Tempest* with the contemporary struggle of neo-colonial

Latin America against imperialism. They transform *The Tempest's* colonial subtext to respond to European colonial discourse. This interpretation, which invariably reads the relationship between Prospero and Caliban as that of the colonizer and the colonized, is supported by psychological and historical approaches to *The Tempest*. The psychological reading became notorious in 1950, when the French Octave Mannoni published *La Psychologie de la colonisation* (translated into English as *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*), in which he used the figures of Prospero and Caliban to embody the psychological types of the colonizer and the colonized to explain the 1947 Madagascan revolt. According to Mannoni, the colonizer suffers from the "Prospero complex," a combination of a superiority complex and an urge to dominate, which explains his paternalistic and controlling behaviors. When the colonizer forces his rule upon less technologically advanced peoples, Caliban, his superior attitude awakens in them both an inferiority and a dependency complex, which becomes reinforced by years of colonial servitude. The colonized, then, necessarily see themselves as inferior to the colonizers. Not surprisingly, Mannoni's treatise was almost instantly challenged by two representatives of the then rising black Caribbean intelligentsia. In 1950 Aimé Césaire denounced Mannoni's theory in his now famous *Discourse sur le*

colonialisme (*Discourse on Colonialism*). Mannoni, Césaire said, had ignorantly confused the reason colonizers seek to oppress other peoples: imperialism did not originate in some "Prospero complex" but in greed.⁸ Nineteen years later, Césaire would again reject Mannoni's metaphorical representations of Prospero and Caliban by rewriting Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

The second response, less impassioned and perhaps more structured than Césaire's, came in 1952 from Frantz Fanon. In chapter four of his book *Peau noire, masques blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*), Fanon countered Mannoni's theory about the innate dependency complex of the colonized peoples with a simple statement: "It is the racist who creates his inferior." Therefore, the colonized could not be born with a dependency complex (Fanon 93; 108). Although both Césaire and Fanon's works were widely read, discussed, and re-published, it took eight more years for another Caribbean intellectual to write a complex counterdiscourse to Mannoni's imperialistic reading of *The Tempest*. In 1960, George Lamming published *The Pleasures of Exile*, an autobiographical collection of essays which included a chapter on *The Tempest* challenging the image of Caliban as a passive servant and a "brutish child of Nature." Instead, Lamming posited himself (the neo-colonial artist) as Caliban, a man who "recognizes and uses his enslavement by Prospero as a transformative

juncture" by "writing himself and his Caribbean reality into existence at the heart of the empire" (Pouchet Paquet, foreword to *Pleasures* xiv-xv). Here, for the first time, was Caliban the rebel. By the early seventies, Césaire, Lamming, Brathwaite and Fernández Retamar had written the appropriations analyzed in this dissertation, positing Caliban as the true representative of the Latin American neo-colonial condition. Fernández Retamar's "Caliban," particularly, caused an immediate and deep controversy among Latin American intellectuals.⁹ The theater also showed the influence of the debate about Caliban's colonial condition: in a 1970 London *Tempest* directed by Jonathan Miller, Caliban represented "an uneducated field Negro" opposing the "educated" and industrious "houseboy," Ariel (Vaughan, "'Something Rich and Strange'" 403). In a 1977 interview, Miller admitted basing his interpretation on Mannoni's *La Psychologie de la colonisation* (Orgel, *The Tempest* 83-85).

Also by the early seventies, Shakespearean scholars began placing *The Tempest* in the context of European discovery voyages and accounts from the new American colonies. In 1976, Stephen J. Greenblatt opened the door to studies of the historical contexts of the play with his famous essay on linguistic colonialism, "Learning to Curse." Three years later, in "*The Tempest* and the New World" Charles Frey summarized the views of those

Shakespearean scholars who had connected the world of *The Tempest* with America. In 1983, Trevor R. Griffiths traced what he called the "politico-colonial interpretations of *The Tempest*" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in his article "'This Island's mine': Caliban and Colonialism." These three works precipitated an avalanche of studies on the colonial subtext of *The Tempest* during the mid to late eighties, and articles on the subject continue to be published.¹⁰

Such New Historicist approaches, focusing as they do on the colonial subtext of *The Tempest* itself, have not adequately accounted for several aspects of the play's Latin American appropriations. They have ignored, for example, the way Ariel and Caliban have been transformed into symbols of a "third" view of the world, an alternative to the views perpetuated by Europe, on one hand, and the United States, on the other.¹¹ Prospero's servants thus serve as images in a counterdiscourse that subverts the homogeneous and reductive "Third World" identity given to Latin America and asserts an alternative plural identity.

North American and European critics have also ignored the way Latin American appropriations of *The Tempest* are shaped by specific elements of Latin American literature and culture, particularly "magical realism" and Carnival.¹² At least three writers (Césaire, Brathwaite

and Lamming) and two productions (the Venezuelan and Mexican ones) aim to transform the magical world of *The Tempest* into a Latin American/Calibanesque "magico-realistic" reality. Other appropriations "carnivalize"/"cannibalize" (or, in Brathwaite's terms, "calibanize") Shakespeare's text.¹³ The most common modes of "carnivalizing" the play are defamiliarizing rituals (e.g. Brathwaite's transformation of Caliban's "freedom song" into the beat played at Carnival) and hybridizations (e.g. Lamming's fragmentation and re-positioning of *The Tempest*'s protagonists). These "carnivalizations" commonly cast Caliban in the role of the rogue/trickster hero of Latin American and African folklore and, most importantly, they disclose the strong connection between some of the appropriations analyzed here and Latin American popular culture (See Appendix A).¹⁴

PART I

Introduction: Rewriting *The Tempest*.

Latin American intellectuals have responded passionately to the colonial subtext in *The Tempest* because Prospero's relationship with his two servants, Ariel and Caliban, resonates with their own colonial subjugation by the imperialism of Europe and, currently, of the United States. In readings that parallel New Historicist critiques of *The Tempest*, Latin American writers have increasingly focused on four episodes in order to interpret the play as the story of colonizer (Prospero) and the colonized (Ariel, and particularly Caliban). In the first episode, Caliban, the monstrous slave, confronts his master Prospero and Miranda, Prospero's daughter (1.2.321-375). Caliban enters the scene mouthing curses at Prospero and Miranda. When Prospero promises to punish him for his insubordination, Caliban justifies himself by accusing Prospero of usurping his island and enslaving him. Prospero responds that Caliban was enslaved because he tried to rape Miranda. Rather than denying the charge, Caliban laughs lustily at the idea. Miranda intervenes to call Caliban an ungrateful savage incapable of any good, who did not even know how to speak before she taught him. Caliban retorts that his only profit from learning to speak is that now he can curse.

Latin American thinkers direct their attention to this episode because it contains key elements they identify with their neocolonial condition. Prospero cheats Caliban of his island through guile and force, just as Europeans cheated Native Americans of their land. Caliban's slavery also parallels the history of the African slaves brought to work in the Caribbean plantations. Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda embodies the colonized's desire for revenge and becomes the oppressor's justification to strip the "uncivilized savage" of his rights as a human being. Latin American artists, like Caliban, can only communicate in the colonizer's language, and many use this language to curse the oppressor.

In the second key episode to Latin American appropriations, Gonzalo, King Alonso's adviser, delivers a speech on a Utopian commonwealth while the King's court is stranded in the island (2.1.139-164). Gonzalo, imagining himself owner of the island, describes in a series of paradoxes how under his administration Nature would be the only ruler of the island's imaginary inhabitants. The peace and prosperity of his community would surpass that of the Golden Age.

Gonzalo's vision of the island as a tabula rasa on which he can imprint his own ideal commonwealth justified

colonization of the Americas 500 years ago. Current labels, however, such as "underdeveloped nations," "primitive cultures" and even "exotic" perpetuate Gonzalo's vision to this day. Naturally, Latin Americans reject or ridicule this notion of a "New World" to be used as a refreshing tourist spot populated by quaint unspoiled natives.

In the third key episode, Caliban willingly submits to Stephano and Trinculo, a drunken butler and jester from the wrecked ship (2.2). During a thunder storm, Trinculo and Stephano stumble over Caliban who is trying to hide from the spirits Prospero usually sends to torment him. While Stephano and Trinculo plan how to display Caliban for profit back in Europe, Caliban, a little giddy from the liquor Stephano has made him drink, kneels to them, offering his services to these "brave" gods with such "celestial liquor". The scene ends with Caliban drunkenly singing a freedom song which ironically celebrates his new bondage.

Most Latin Americans recognize the role Stephano and Trinculo try to impose on Caliban: the picturesque figure whose sole purpose is to entertain. In fact, the stereotype of the Latin American as the dancer and artist of brightly colored murals, textiles and pottery perfectly fits Stephano and Trinculo's image of Caliban. On the

other hand, Caliban's belief that changing masters makes him a free man is interpreted as the ironical consequence of a life of oppression. Caliban cannot imagine a world where he is master because fundamentally he has accepted Prospero's image of him as a "born slave," or, acknowledging his imposed subservience, he shifts masters in hope the incoming one will be better than the last one.

In the fourth key episode, Caliban plots to kill Prospero (3.2) and Prospero thwarts the plot with his magic (4.1.165-265). Claiming that Prospero stole his island, Caliban asks Stephano to help him seek revenge. To minimize their risk in this enterprise, Caliban suggests seizing the books that give Prospero his magic powers and then murdering him in his sleep. Caliban's hatred for his master can be measured by how Caliban imagines Prospero's end:

'Tis a custom with him
I'th'afternoon to sleep; there thou mayst brain
him,
Having first seized his books, or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
or cut his wesand [windpipe] with thy knife
(*The Tempest* 3.2. 84-88)

In retaliation, Prospero transforms some of his spirits into hounds and sets them to hunt the plotters. He also instructs the spirits to "grind [the plotters'] joints," "shorten up their sinews," and to pinch them until they look like leopards.

Latin Americans interpret Caliban's thirst for blood as a natural consequence of Prospero's cruel and demeaning mistreatment. Hunting Caliban as if he were an animal, then, becomes a representative instance of Prospero's cruelty, and also ties Caliban to the figure of the runaway slave.

Part I of this dissertation follows the transformations of these four episodes in the work of five contemporary Latin American writers: José Enrique Rodó, Roberto Fernández Retamar, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Aimé Césaire and George Lamming.

At the turn of the century, Ariel, Shakespeare's "airy spirit," inspired the Uruguayan thinker José Enrique Rodó to write one of the most famous essays in the history of Latin America, properly entitled *Ariel*. Rodó wanted "to offer *Ariel* to Latin American youth as a model for the continuing education of its élite" (Rodríguez Monegal, "The Metamorphoses of Caliban" 80). His essay, a lecture given by the wise teacher Prospero to his students, urges Latin American youth to emulate the spirit of Ariel by seeking "art, beauty, virtue, truth and sensitivity." Prospero also "warns [his students] against materialism and utilitarianism," the vices of Caliban (Vaughan, "Caliban in the 'Third World'" 292). Thus, Ariel became the symbol of the future ideal Latin America, one whose people would cherish all that is superior and noble in

man, and Caliban became the symbol of the United States, the values that Latin Americans had to avoid. Still, Rodó considered Caliban a necessary complement to Ariel and so believed in the eventual unification of both Americas with Latin America as the natural head.

In the years following Rodó's death, the remaining colonies in the New World struggled to become independent from their "mother" countries. In 1959, one such nation, Cuba, sprang to notoriety by leading a successful revolution against its oppressors and later by maintaining its self-sufficiency in spite of the intervention from the United States. Since then, Cuba's separation from its colonizers has served in Latin America as an example of the value of political and cultural **difference**. And yet, for Latin America to start thinking about itself as different from Latin Europe, the thesis of Rodó's *Ariel* had to be rethought, maybe even rejected.

So it happened that in 1971--the centennial of Rodó's birth--the Cuban poet and literary editor Roberto Fernández Retamar chose Caliban as the best symbol for Latin America in an essay entitled "Caliban: Notes Toward a Discussion of Culture in Our America." Although Fernández Retamar uses Shakespeare's Caliban primarily as a metaphor--Caliban as the masses oppressed by imperialism--he also connects Latin America with Caliban historically. Fernández Retamar believes Shakespeare

modeled his "savage" after his contemporaries' accounts of the Carib Indian, a cannibal, "a bestial man situated on the margins of civilization, who must be opposed to the very death" ("Caliban" 7). The Caliban/Carib/cannibal equation, then, makes the identification of the Latin American with Shakespeare's "deformed slave" literal: the Latin American has "**Carib blood, the blood of Caliban**, coursing through his veins" ("Caliban" 19). The equation also helps Fernández Retamar tie Caliban's notorious rebelliousness to "the American peoples that offered heroic resistance to the invader, ...the natural forerunners of the Latin American **independistas**" and, by extension, to those participating in the socialist revolution of Latin America at the time Fernández Retamar wrote his essay ("Caliban" 20). Fernández Retamar, then, explains the Latin American socialist evolution started in Cuba as a natural continuation of the resistance of the Carib Indian.

Both Ariel and "Caliban" have sparked lengthy debates on the nature of Latin American identity, as Latino critics pointed out the weaknesses of their arguments and the essays underwent several editions and translations. Because both these works have customarily been taken out of context or misquoted, I shall provide much-needed summaries of each essay's main argument in the section dealing with Rodó and Fernández Retamar.

In a reading parallel to Fernández Retamar, the Barbadian poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite has further "cannibalized"--he prefers the term "calibanized"--Caliban and Ariel into symbolic figures of the native Caribbean. Caliban represents the descendant of the black slaves brought by the Europeans to work in their West Indian plantations. Ariel stands for the (usually free mulatto) middleman between the enslaver Prospero and the slave Caliban. To these three figures Brathwaite adds Sycorax--Caliban's witch mother, only mentioned in *The Tempest*--as Caliban's natural and metaphorical mother, Africa. Although only three of Brathwaite's poems refer explicitly to *The Tempest* (two poems entitled "Caliban" and one called "Letter Sycorax"), much of Brathwaite's work also revolves around the colonial issues present in *The Tempest*. Brathwaite pays particular attention to Caliban's entrapment in Prospero's language, and to his subsequent struggle to convert this alien language into a vehicle of genuine self expression.

In 1969, the Martinican writer and politician Aimé Césaire published an adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* entitled *Une Tempête* (A *Tempest*) to establish a dialogue between his revision and the original text. As critic Joan Dayan explains,

Césaire's adamant refusal to give his work some illusion of primaryness is crucial to our understanding of what might first seem to be mere celebratory rebellion. Howling for an

instrument of reconnection, Caliban/Césaire does not simply negate. Instead, he recognizes the force of mutuality, the knot of reciprocity between master and slave, between a prior "classic" and his response to it.
 ("Playing Caliban" 130)

To reinforce this "reciprocity between master and slave," Césaire focuses on the relationship between Prospero and Caliban and gives it a mutuality at which Shakespeare's original can only hint: in Césaire's play what matters is whether Prospero or Caliban will have the last word. In order to represent this mutuality, Césaire not only transforms Caliban into "a rebel--the positive hero, in a Hegelian sense," but he also makes Prospero a case study of how "colonization works to ~~decivilize~~ the colonizer, to ~~brutalize~~ him" (Césaire, qtd. in Dayan, "Playing Caliban" 132). Accordingly, by the end of Césaire's play, Prospero becomes an inarticulate ~~thing~~, while Caliban achieves the upper hand by returning to his natural free state.

Like Césaire, the Barbadian novelist George Lamming conducts a dialogue with *The Tempest*, but he reverses its central plot: in his novel *Water With Berries* (1972) Caliban exiles himself to England and from there plans his revolt against the usurpers of his island. Lamming also fragments and hybridizes *The Tempest*'s main characters (for instance, Miranda splits into two characters) and creates new relations among them to show the difference between Shakespeare's version of colonialism and his own

vision of contemporary neocolonialism. Lamming's novel ends without resolution in Caliban's trial for murder. The struggle between Caliban and Prospero is far from over yet.

Chapter One: Ariel, or the spirit of Latin America.

I have lived inside the monster [the United States] and know its entrails--and my weapon is only the slingshot of David.

--José Martí in a letter to Manuel Mercado, 1895.

Latin Americans can have fraternal fights; later we will embrace and be all one with the same ideal, the same blood, the same habits, the same language...but that other peoples [the United States] is...our future danger.

--José Enrique Rodó to his biographer Pérez Petit, 1898.

The United States is grand and powerful. Whenever it trembles, a profound shudder runs down the enormous backbone of the Andes.

--Rubén Darío, "To Roosevelt", 1905.

In 1900 the Uruguayan thinker/politician José Enrique Rodó published the third section of his work *La vida nueva* (*The New Life*), entitled *Ariel*. This long essay reports on the fictional closing lecture a venerable teacher, Prospero, gives to his young disciples. Prospero centers his lesson on the symbolic meaning of Shakespeare's Ariel, who for Prospero/Rodó represents "the noble soaring aspect of the human spirit" and who "presides" over the lesson in the form of a "regal" bronze statue of the airy spirit as "he is about to take wing and vanish in a flash of light" (*Ariel*, 31). Prospero divides his lesson in six parts:

1. Prospero stresses the need for each generation to create its own future. He extols "youth--which symbolizes light and love and energy, for individuals, for

generations, and also for the evolutionary process of society" (Ariel 34). Thus, he maintains that youthful societies renew mankind's search for the perpetuation of ideals. He illustrates his point with the example of the Ancient Greeks who, considered "children" by the Egyptians, nevertheless constructed a civilization "that still serve[s] as our [Western culture's] inspiration and our pride" (Ariel 35).

2. Prospero quotes Guyau, "there is one profession: that of being *man*," to stress that, as in Greece, modern education should strive to form well-rounded men. To balance utilitarianism and passion, Prospero advises his students to pursue *otium*. He exemplifies his argument with the parable of a wise king who, although legendarily hospitable and generous, also jealously kept the world out of the one room in his castle he reserved for meditation.

3. Prospero emphasizes the importance of aesthetics in the education of the "moral sensibility":

Never will an individual be more faithful to duty than when he moves from believing that beauty is something that originates outside himself to feeling it internally as aesthetic harmony. And never will that individual know goodness more fully than when he learns to respect the sense of beauty in others.
(Ariel 50)

For Prospero, ethics without aesthetics produces imbalanced civilizations, so that his followers' first task must be to imbue a love for the beautiful in the

masses by imparting "its relationship with other human interests" (Ariel 52-55).

4. Prospero opposes the contemplation of the beautiful to the pursuit of material ends--utilitarianism. He refers to the alleged causes of utilitarianism, science (which shatters idealism) and democracy (which several thinkers have considered the rule of the mediocre). Prospero acknowledges that democracy can prompt mediocrity when it lacks "protections that can efficiently ensure the inviolability of high culture," but he also points out that genuine democracies "encourage the emergence and sovereignty of true human superiorities" (Ariel 59). "Democratic equality," he explains, "becomes the most efficient--in fact, the providential-- instrument in spiritual selection" so that a model democracy,

like aristocracy, will recognize the distinction of quality; but it will favor truly superior qualities--those of virtue, character, and mind--and will not attempt to immobilize them in a class system that maintains the execrable privilege of caste.
(Ariel 67)

5. Prospero contrasts the spirit of his model democracy with "the spirit of Americanism" which joins "utilitarianism as a concept of human destiny and egalitarian mediocrity as a norm for social relationships" (Ariel 70). He warns his students against being dazzled by the United States' efficiency, prosperity, and power because little refinement or spirituality accompanies its

material gains. Moreover, excessive admiration may bring about imitation, or the sacrifice of the "irreplaceable uniqueness" of Latin America (Ariel 71-72). He advocates the separation of the Americas so that their "contemporaneous but conflicting forces...preserve our interest in life, a fascination that would pale in the placidity of absolute conformity" (73). The two Americas, like Athens and Sparta, need to maintain a dualism that "re-creates in history the classic myth of the two eagles released simultaneously from the two poles in order that each should reach the limits of its domain at the same moment" (Ariel 73). At the same time, Prospero believes that "ultimately, the work of North American Positivism will serve the cause of Ariel [Latin America]" because the ideal needs the complement of the useful and vice versa (Ariel 88). Prospero's last judgment of the United States, a "titanic society, which has until today been characterized solely by *Will* and *Utility*," "a clumsy, though huge, working model that must still pass through many corrective revisions before it acquires the serenity and confidence" of a perfect nation, again warns his students against fanaticism ("nordomanía") for American culture (Ariel 90).

6. Prospero concludes his lesson by reminding his pupils that great civilizations find their reason for existence in the pursuit of unselfish objectives in every aspect of

its culture, from art to the "politics of ideas" (Ariel 94), and he calls his students to make such a civilization of Latin America. As his parting blessing, Prospero wishes that the spirit of Ariel, "idealism and order in life; noble inspiration in thought; selflessness in morality; good taste in art; heroism in action; delicacy in customs" (Ariel 98), accompanies his disciples throughout their lives:

May this image of Ariel--imprinted upon your hearts--play...[a] decisive role in your...lives. In darkest hours of discouragement, may it revive in your consciousness an enthusiasm for the wavering ideal and restore to your heart the ardor of lost hope.

(Ariel 99-100)

Prospero's request was received enthusiastically by the readership of *Ariel*, and successive generations of Latin Americans have imprinted the image of Ariel on their hearts and minds up to this day.

Although the appropriation of Ariel made Rodó immortal in Latin America, *The Tempest* was more than a momentary influence in his life. In 1913 Rodó published *El Mirador de Próspero* (*Prospero's Oriel*), a collection of essays he selected himself as "the diary of his soul" (Pereda 56). Again, Rodó chose Prospero as his alter ego, the wise teacher who from his oriel could observe and record--and, as in Shakespeare's play, supervise--the dealings of the world. Also, from 1912 on he playfully

used "Caliban" as his sporadic nom de plume when signing newspaper articles (Benedetti 10).

Ariel, then, outlines the "manifest destiny" of Latin America:

Let Caliban reign, owner and master of souls and bodies, in those other lands tired with life, stuffed with sensations, profiteering and speculative, all given to the sensuality and materialism of the self; and let Ariel be for us, the South Americans, the new men, the young spirits, the dreamers, the courageous hearts. Ariel is the soul of our race calling us to fulfill our destiny.

(Pérez Petit 171; trans.mine)

Rodó calls the young people of Latin America to maintain and cultivate the youthful spirit of Ariel so that, in time, it may imbue the Latin American peoples with its grace, beauty, delicacy, and love for the good. Rodó draws a comparison between his view of democracy in the United States--the rule of the materialistic mediocre--and his future Arielesque democracy in Latin America--the rule of the morally and intellectually superior--to remind Latin Americans that a civilization's true excellence lies in its cultural contributions, in the "grandeur of thought and feeling possible within it," and not in its material gains (*Ariel* 60).

Alden T. Vaughan's research on the appropriations of Shakespeare's Caliban indicates that Rodó based Ariel's thesis on contemporary European and Latin American interpretations of *The Tempest*. From the French Ernest

Renan's *Caliban, suite de La Tempête* (1878), for example, Rodó drew the dichotomy between Ariel as idealism and Caliban as utilitarianism; from Renan's detractor, Alfred Fouillée, Rodó derived the crucial notion of Ariel and Caliban's complementarity (Vaughan 292-293). The Latin American influences on Rodó's work are less obvious: Vaughan, for instance, reports accurately that the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío was probably the first writer to identify the United States with Caliban, but Vaughan does not draw any connection between him and Rodó (291). In reality, strong criticism of American materialism and utilitarianism was widespread in Latin America in Rodó's time, and most probably started with the Cuban journalist, poet and diplomat José Martí, who reported on American culture and politics from 1880 until his death in 1895 for leading Latin American newspapers such as the Argentinean *La Nación*, the Mexican *El Partido Liberal*, and the Uruguayan *La Opinión Pública* (Foner 29-30). Consider the following extract from Martí's "Our America," published by *El Partido Liberal* on January 30, 1891:

The scorn of our formidable neighbor, who does not know us, is the greatest danger for our America....Through ignorance, she might go so far as to lay hands on us.... [This danger] can be resolved, to the benefit of peaceful centuries yet to come, by timely study and the tacit, immediate union of the continental soul. The hymn of oneness sounds already; the actual generation carries a purposeful America along the road enriched by their sublime fathers; from the Rio Grande to the straits of Magellan,

the Great Semi, seated on the flank of the
condor, sows the seed of a new America through
the romantic nations of the continent and the
sorrowful islands of the sea!
(qtd. in Rosenberg 251)

Although Martí's influence on Rodó cannot be ascertained, we can safely assume that the latter was exposed to Martí's ideas through either *La Opinión Pública* or *La Nación*. We also know Rodó was interested in Martí because he planned to write a piece on the Cuban poet.¹ Martí's influence on Rodó may have been more subtle: we know that Martí was revered by Rubén Darío, and that Rodó admired Darío; in fact, the section preceding *Ariel* in *La Vida Nueva* consists of a criticism of Darío's *Prosas Profanas*, published in Argentina in 1896. Rodó's admiration for the Nicaraguan poet also makes his acquaintance with Darío's 1898 reports to *La Nación* on the conditions of Spain after the Spanish-American War quite possible. In one such report, called "Caliban's Triumph," Darío applies all sorts of animalistic and brutish characteristics to the "Yankees" to convince readers of their "Calibanesque" nature²: Americans are "red-faced, heavy and grotesque," "silver-toothed buffaloes," "Cyclops who eat raw meat," "bestial blacksmiths," "savage children," "Calibans whose ideal is limited to the stock market and the factory" (*Escritos Inéditos de Rubén Darío* 160; trans. mine). Most interestingly, Darío extends his symbolic appropriation of *The Tempest* to include Miranda as Latin America (a most

accurate symbol, if one considers Caliban's intentions to rape her in Shakespeare's play) and Ariel as Spain and, by extension, "Latin" Europe:

No, no, I cannot be on their [the Yankees'] side; I cannot be for Caliban's triumph....I, who have advocated a free Cuba, if only to share the dreams of the dreamer and the heroism of so many martyrs. I am Spain's friend when I see it assaulted by a brutal enemy whose emblems are violence, force and injustice.... The Spain I defend is called Nobility, Ideal, Distinction; it is called Cervantes, Quevedo, Góngora, Gracián, Velázquez; it is called the Cid, Loyola, Isabel; it is called the Daughter of Rome, the Sister of France, the Mother of America.

Miranda will always prefer Ariel; Miranda is the grace of the spirit; and not all the mountains of rocks, of metal, of gold, of bacon, will be enough for my Latin soul to prostitute itself to Caliban!

(Darío, "El Triunfo de Calibán," *Escritos Inéditos de Rubén Darío* 160-162; trans. mine)

Darío's preference for Spain over the United States shows the firm cultural hold Latin European countries (Spain, Portugal, France, Italy) still had over Latin American intellectuals. The same stands for Rodó, who relied mainly on French thinkers and writers for the illustrations and arguments in his *Ariel*. However, at the same time as Martí, Darío and Rodó upheld the importance of Latin European culture, they insisted that Latin America cannot be a mere copy of other cultures, but must shape its own unique, independent and unified identity. Against this line of thought were those who dismissed Latin European culture as decadent and preferred to look toward the

United States for the model of the emerging Latin American identity. Such an advocate was the Argentinean Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, whose "nordomanía," as we will see later, offered a sharp contrast to Martí's negative vision of the United States.

To summarize, Rodó's *Ariel* crystallized two main beliefs of many Latin American thinkers of the time: the first, that the future of Latin America resided in the continuation of the "Latin" classic culture that linked otherwise dissimilar countries; the second, that the United States could become a permanent threat to that future unity and tradition. History quickly proved *Ariel*'s warnings of American intervention in Latin America's affairs and culture right.³ Thus, it is not surprising that by Rodó's death in 1917, *Ariel* was regarded by most Latin American intellectuals and politicians mainly as a prophetic denunciation of American imperialism--when in reality Rodó dedicated only one section out of five to criticism of democracy in the United States. Vaughan reports "yankeephobia" has made *Ariel* so popular that "Rodó remains to the present a cultural hero in Spanish-speaking nations of the Western Hemisphere" and that "through more than thirty editions and countless printings, *Ariel* continues to wield enormous influence on Latin America's self-image and, especially, on its image of the United States" (295)⁴. Indeed, *Ariel* as well as

Rodó have been pervasive if not always conspicuous presences in the life of Latin Americans. Pérez Petit reports, for instance, that during Rodó's life the merchant class wanted to contribute to--or profit from--Rodó's popularity, and thus named staples such as paper products, sugar and liquor after him and Ariel, some of which retain their name up to this day. After Rodó's death, cities throughout South America erected monuments or renamed parks, streets and schools after him and Ariel (Pérez Petit 489-493).⁵ Since then, constant commemoration of Rodó's thought has taken place in places ranging from the orator's podium to the screenwriter's desk.⁶ Of these, the most notorious has been the citation of extracts from *Ariel* by leaders of all nations at the seemingly Ariel-inspired Organization of American States.⁷

Chapter Two: Caliban, or the symbol of Latin America.

Perhaps Rodó erred in naming the danger, but he did not err in his recognition of where it lay.
--Mario Benedetti.

It is my duty--inasmuch as I realize it and have the spirit to fulfill it--to prevent, by the independence of Cuba, the United States from spreading over the West Indies and falling, with that added weight, upon other lands of our America. All I have done up to now, and shall do hereafter, is to that end.
--José Martí in a letter to Manuel Mercado the night before Martí was killed fighting for the liberation of Cuba.

Seventy-one years after the publication of *Ariel*, the Cuban Roberto Fernández Retamar disputed Rodó's choice of Shakespeare's Ariel as the symbol for Latin America in an essay entitled "Caliban: Notes Toward a Discussion of Culture in Our America." Fernández Retamar's main purpose in "Caliban" was to separate the "authentic" Latin American culture from the colonial one, and in the process finds that he needs to appoint a new universal character as Latin America's symbol. His choice of Shakespeare's Caliban is apt because the fate of Shakespeare's monster reflects that of the **indigenous** inhabitants of America:

Our symbol...is not Ariel, as Rodó thought, but rather Caliban. This is something that we, the *mestizo* inhabitants of these same isles where Caliban lived, see with particular clarity: Prospero invaded the islands, killed our ancestors, enslaved Caliban, and taught him his language to make himself understood. What else can Caliban do but use that same language--today he has no other--to curse him, to wish

that the "red plague" would fall on him? I know
no other metaphor more expressive of our
cultural situation, our reality.
("Caliban" 14)

Fernandez Retamar's symbolism is double: Caliban represents first and foremost the native of the New World before the arrival of the Europeans. He devotes a whole section of his essay to the history of Caliban, that is, how Shakespeare derived the character from the image of the "carib/cannibal" sketched in Columbus' logbooks and perpetuated by European voyage literature and essays on the nature of the "new" lands. He specifically refers to Montaigne's essay "On Cannibals," considered a direct source for *The Tempest* by most Shakespearean scholars. But Fernández Retamar's Caliban also symbolizes the **present** inhabitants of Latin America, whom he believes have the distinct characteristic of being "mestizo"--a mixture of the European white, African black and American native.

"Caliban" develops the answer to the question: "Does a Latin American culture exist?" in eight sections. The first three define the Latin American as the quintessential "mestizo," different from other colonials in that he speaks the colonizer's language **only** (3-5); show the historical correspondence between Shakespeare's Caliban and the oppressed people of Latin America (6-14); and conclude that Caliban, "the rude and unconquerable master of the island," makes the best symbol for Latin

America (14-16). Fernández Retamar notes that substituting Ariel for Caliban as Latin America's symbol uncovers a second dichotomy among the characters of *The Tempest*: the one between Prospero and his servants, Caliban and Ariel. Future discussion of Latin American culture, identity or destiny, then, will not focus on the "Ariel-Caliban polarity" as Rodó suggested, but in the interaction between an enslaver and his slaves (16).

The next four sections of Fernández Retamar's essay develop the concept of Latin American culture, or as he chooses to call it following a phrase from José Martí, "our mestizo America." The fourth section discusses Martí's ~~mestizo~~ definition of Latin American people and their culture, which emphasizes the role played by American indigenous groups:

The American intelligence is an indigenous plumage. Is it not evident that America itself was paralyzed by the same blow that paralyzed the Indian? And until the Indian is caused to walk, America itself will not begin to walk well.

(Martí, "Autores aborígenes americanos,"
qtd.in Fernández Retamar, "Caliban," 20)

The fifth section contrasts Martí's "Calibanesque" view of Latin America with that of those Latin Americans who uphold "the thesis of Prospero": barbaric peoples such as the American natives must be civilized by superior peoples such as the Europeans (21). Fernández Retamar chooses the

Argentinean writer Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) as the most explicit exponent of Prospero's thesis. Consider a few lines of one of the many extracts by Sarmiento quoted in "Caliban":

It may be very unjust to exterminate savages, suffocate rising civilizations, conquer peoples who are in possession of a privileged piece of land. But thanks to this injustice, America, instead of remaining abandoned to the savages, incapable of progress, is today occupied by the Caucasian race--the most perfect, the most intelligent, the most beautiful and most progressive of those that people the earth.
("Caliban" 24)

Sarmiento's admiration for the "Caucasian race" made him advance the thesis that the future of Latin America lay in following the example not of Europe, but of the United States.¹

Section six of "Caliban" develops the connection between Sarmiento's attempt to impose on Latin American culture structures foreign to its character and the alienating writings of such noted Latin American authors as Jorge Luis Borges and Carlos Fuentes. Like Sarmiento, Fernández Retamar argues, these two contemporary advocates of Prospero's thesis look for their identity outside their continent. Fernández Retamar considers Borges "a typical colonial writer" whose writing process consists of a "phagocytosis" and regurgitation of European literature (28), and he supports his point with Borges' own

declaration on the subject: "I believe our tradition is Europe" (26). Fernández Retamar then attacks the Mexican Carlos Fuentes' critical work, *La nueva novela hispanoamericana* (*The New Spanish-American Novel*), an examination of "magical realism,"² because Fuentes appraisal is based on the critical apparatus of literatures foreign to Latin American culture and has no regard to "the vision of history" enunciated in the novels themselves (32-33).

Sections seven and eight of "Caliban" denounce "the culture of anti-America" represented by colonial writers such as Borges, Fuentes and Sarmiento and propose that Latin American culture "can only be...the child of revolution, of our multiseular rejection of all colonialisms" (38). For this, Ariel, "the intellectual from the same island as Caliban" has to attach himself to Caliban's struggle against imperialism (39) and use his knowledge of Prospero's "conceptual and technical apparatus" to curse Prospero (40) and help construe the alternative reality of Latin American culture.

"Caliban" has become a central text in Fernández Retamar's career and in the definition of Latin America's identity. In "Another Word from Caliban," an afterword to the 1974 Italian translation of his essay, Fernández Retamar himself traces the popularity of his essay: in three years, it had been translated for publication in the

United States, France, Portugal, Hungary, Jamaica and, of course, Italy, and had been republished in Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay (*Caliban y otros ensayos* 95). In 1986 Fernández Retamar published an important sequel to "Caliban" entitled "Caliban Revisited," in which he describes the political and intellectual context in which "Caliban" was conceived: the organization by the United States of the Congress of Cultural Freedom "to challenge...the hegemony of the revolutionary outlook in Latin-American intellectual work" (48-49) and the two open letters to Fidel Castro from Europe written by intellectuals concerned with the freedom--or lack thereof--of thought in Cuba (50-51). "Caliban" disputed these attacks on the intellectual work of the Cuban Revolution by ascertaining that revolutionary marginal thought truly represented the *sui generis* culture of Latin America. Finally, in a 1995 interview with Goffredo Diana and John Beverley, Fernández Retamar concluded that, although he was ready to move on beyond "Caliban" (he fittingly entitled the postscript of the Japanese edition of his essay "Farewell to Caliban"), the issues considered in "Caliban" are, he believes, even more critical today than in 1971, particularly because now the Third World cannot count on the buffering action of world socialism to counteract the First World's imperialism ("These Are The Times We Live In" 423-424).

Conclusion: Ariel and Caliban: our "mestizo" America.

To change masters is not to be free.

--José Martí.

Although *Ariel* seemingly follows the thought of Martí, and conflicts with Sarmiento's "nordomanía," it really advocates a politically independent but culturally colonized Latin America. Rodó's position becomes more understandable when we take into account the historic circumstances that preceded and surrounded the writing of *Ariel*: eleven years of battles against Spain to obtain the independence of most of Latin America made leaders averse to the "mother" country and its culture; at the same time, the success of democracy in the United States encouraged imitation of its political systems and symbols--up to this day, for instance, many countries in Latin America have a flag similar to the American one. In the early 1800's, the United States became Latin America's menace by instituting the Monroe Doctrine, appropriating half of Mexico's territory and, later, after defeating Spain, annexing Puerto Rico, the Philippines and, unofficially, Cuba. Trapped between two greedy powers, Rodó escapes to classical Greece to find examples for a humanist "Latin" tradition and keeps his warnings about the United States short and safe by arguing about the "complementarity" of Latin and Anglo America.

The continuation of "Arielesque" thought--and I hope I have proven there is still much of it going on--by Latin American intellectuals and political leaders has made it difficult for Latin America to disengage itself from cultural colonialism (as compared with an exchange of cultures). To use George Lamming's metaphor from *The Pleasures of Exile*, just as Caliban cannot break away from the prison of Prospero's language, much of the ruling class of Latin America cannot imagine the world in terms other than European.

Fernández Retamar's "Caliban," as a matter of fact, actually rewrites Rodó's ideas in two significant ways: it continues Ariel's call for Latin American unity and reinforces and enlarges its "anti-Yankeeism." As opposed to Ariel, "Caliban" seeks the answers to cultural and identity questions in the sui generis nature of Latin America--which could be called "mestizo" by approximation, since not all Latin American countries are racially/culturally mixed in the same degree--rather than in Latin America's "mother" countries. We will see how the opposition of the characters of Ariel and Caliban represents this antagonism most fittingly in the chapter on Aimé Césaire's *A Tempest*.

In contrast to Shakespearean scholars such as Vaughan, who, for instance, treat Ariel and "Caliban" as

mere items in a list of appropriations of *The Tempest*, Latin American theorists have heatedly and copiously discussed both essays' arguments and their ramifications over the years.³ What has been left out in both these approaches to Ariel and "Caliban" is that by uniting the characteristics of a fictional character with the characteristics of the situation of particular peoples both essays have two levels of meaning: the first, an intellectual exercise meant to be understood and debated by those educated enough to know *The Tempest* and intellectuals like Renan, Martí, Darío, Sarmiento, etc. The second, an exposition of realities that define the experience of the average Latin American. Unfortunately, little emphasis has been given to how Ariel and "Caliban" reflect the views of the Latin American peoples. Since the three fictional works that follow in this chapter (a selection of poems by Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Aimé Césaire's *Une Tempête*, and George Lamming's *Water With Berries*) all resonate with the colonial **experience** more than analyze the colonial **situation**, they reflect closely some of the postulations of Roberto Fernández Retamar.

In closing this chapter, I would like to invite the reader to peruse the contents of the first appendix at the end of this chapter. It contains the texts of some Latin American songs favored throughout the continent and sung

by peoples of all races, classes and languages, which, by representing the popular feeling of the Latin American peoples, also perpetuate and extend the thesis of Rodó and of Fernández Retamar.

Chapter Three: Edward Kamau Brathwaite.

From cannibalism to "calibanism."

In his study of the Jamaican slave revolt of 1831-1832, "Caliban, Ariel, and Unprospero in the Conflict of Creolization," the Barbadian Edward Kamau Brathwaite refers to "certain (well known) symbols from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* already used by several Third World writers" which in his discussion will represent different "forces" or "personality types" of the Jamaican colonial society:

Gonzalo, the metropolitan philosopher in the tropics; liberal, well-meaning, utopian and single-mindedly devoted to his monolith and -logue....
Alonso: political metropole;
Prospero, or rather Unprospero: slave-owning planter;
Ariel, the go-between, sometimes mistaken for Aerial (the press, mass media) usually an educated slave or freedman open to "white" creolization and technology;
Caliban, the black/slave rebel, trying, from cultural impulse, to return to align himself with his submerged/maroon ancestral heritage as represented by
Sycorax, his mother, in whom resides the quality of soul grit or kernel, known as *nam*.
(44-45)

Indeed, some of these "symbols" from Shakespeare's *Tempest* had already become part of Brathwaite's poetic apparatus in the 1967 trilogy *The Arrivants* (comprised of *Rights of Passage*, *Masks*, and *Islands*), in *Black and Blues* (1976), and in the first book of his second trilogy, *Mother Poem* (1977). The symbols, though, existed not as passing references but as integral parts of a "submerged"

Caribbean world which Brathwaite wishes to reflect in his work. To appreciate or even discern this world we should refer to one of Brathwaite's earlier essays, "The African presence in Caribbean literature," where he categorizes African literature written in the Caribbean into four types:

The first is rhetorical. The writer uses Africa as a mask, signal or nomen. He doesn't know very much about Africa necessarily...he is only saying the word 'Africa' or invoking a dream of the Congo, Senegal, Niger, the Zulu, Nile, or Zambesi.... The seconds (sic) is what I call *the literature of African survival*, a literature which deals quite consciously with African survivals in Caribbean society.... Thirdly, there is *the literature of African expression*, employing...elements of African and/or African-American style, content, vocabulary, custom/ culture(sic); and...*the literature of reconnection*, written by Caribbean (and New World) writers who have lived in Africa and are attempting to relate that experience to the New World, or who are consciously reaching out to rebridge the gap of the spiritual heartland.

(*Roots* 211-212)

Brathwaite considers himself and George Lamming as members of the third category, and he places Aimé Césaire in the fourth, for the most part.

Brathwaite's analysis of the elements that compose "the literature of African expression" provide, in a nutshell, the main elements and rationale of his own poetry: 1) involvement in the subject matter (as opposed to the mere "signaling" of the writers of "rhetorical Africa"); 2) connection with "alternative" worlds present

in the New World reality such as the hounfort;¹ and 3) the use of the "sound-symbols," "tunes, tones and rhythms" and improvisational techniques (repetition, call/response, transformation) of "nation-language"² (*Roots* 234-254). In other words, Brathwaite's poetry will be concerned with the transformation of Africa in the Caribbean--a process he will later call "calibanism"--and with the creation of language by the folk to express the marvelous reality of the New World. In this he differs ostensibly in emphasis from George Lamming, who chooses to depict the **entrapment** of the West Indian voice by the colonizer's language, and somewhat from Césaire, whose interest in putting African culture on **equal** footing with the European culture makes his poetry more an alternative canon than a reflection of the folklore of the Afro-Caribbean people.³ Furthermore, by making poetry that imitates the forms of the oral traditions of the African "nations" in the Caribbean, Brathwaite's work has given the region a linguistic and literary equivalent of what Dante gave to Italy when he wrote *The Divine Comedy*. To use one of Brathwaite's own illustrations on the subject of "nation-language" in his "History of the voice":

The forerunner of [all these notions about nation-language] was, of course, Dante Alighieri who, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, argued, in *De vulgari eloquentia* (1304) for the recognition of the (his own) Tuscan vernacular as the nation language to replace Latin as the most natural,

complete, and accessible means of verbal expression.

(*Roots* 267)

Thus, the importance and necessity of Brathwaite's poetry, and also, to borrow a term from Greenblatt, its opacity.⁴

Brathwaite himself despairs at this condition in his poetry in the notes to his 1987 collection of poetry,

X/Self:

Because Caribbean culture has been so cruelly neglected both by the Caribbean itself, and by the rest of the world (except for the spot/check and catch-ups via cricket and reggae), my references (my nommos and icons) may appear mysterious, meaningless even, to both Caribbean and non-Caribbean readers. So the notes...which I hope are helpful, but which I provide with great reluctance, since the irony is that they may suggest the poetry is so obscure in itself that it has to be lighted up; is so lame, that it has to have a crutch; and (most hurtful of all) that it is bookish, academic, 'history'. Which therefore makes magical realism, the dub riddims and nation language and calibanisms appear contradictory: *how could these things come from a learned treatise?*

(113)

In the 1990s Brathwaite has started publishing poetry without explanatory notes (*Shar/Hurricane Poem, Middle Passages*), which requires its readership to learn Caribbean/African culture in order to read the poems properly.

"Calibanizing" Prospero and Ariel.

In general, Brathwaite's poetic composition consists of a synchronicity ("montage") of voices, time periods and

geographical spaces which reveals hidden associations and parallelisms among otherwise seemingly disparate events or characters. This style, combined with his thematic concern, the preservation and transformation of the culture and language the African slaves brought to the Caribbean, forces the reader to regard the world from an alien perspective, the point of view of Caliban.

One consequence of this shift from a Euro-centric world view is that Europe becomes "the Other," the one analyzed and explained in "Calibanesque" terms. Two excellent examples of this perspective shift can be found in *X/Self*, in the poems "The fapal state machine" and "And now a soft commentaries from Angelo Solimann Africanus the Neumann." In both cases, the poetic rhythms reveal a Caliban mocking European thought, in a true reversal of white literature's version of black speech. Consider the irony in the following extract from the first of these poems:

without this apparat this parthenon
this fapal state machine

these sleepless shears
these lookout crucifixions on the cliff

there will be
scabbard legions clashing in the night

there will be
riots fires insurrections nkrumah's heedles
statue broken down

the universal sun eclipsed by man and time and
chaos

ships slipping past the pillows of hesperides

to where there should have been no wind no
water hoof of
world no word

towards
where marco polo could not walk

towards
young caliban howling for his tongue

towards
algonquin pontiac discovering his arrows were
on fire

towards
tupac amaru ii

towards
my heart at wounded knee

towards
red tacky bleeding in the west

where canefields are laid out black green sick
yellow greed dry
man song bone and seed whose every sugar sweet
will be
your mothers rape and shame and love vine
strangling the wall

so that these christofaring ships now safely
rocking harbour
will have the throats of their anchors cut
their pilots hooked

and marinate
their rosaries and choker coral necklaces

thrown overboard

to the dog
sharks

and it is dark dark dark
in paradiso

in dante's villa of valhalla
 in this chess checkered chapel of our hell.
 ("The fapal state machine," X/Self 20-22)

The call for an autocratic conservation of "civilization" and "order" (the "state machine") and the fear of the engulfing "darkness" of the tropical "paradiso" and the "chaos" that would ensue without the "state machine" are European. (This representation of the European mind coincides perfectly with Césaire's portrait of Prospero in *A Tempest*).⁵ The conflation of "fatal" and "papal" to qualify "the state machine" indicates Caliban's intrusion to undermine Prospero's myths. Caliban acknowledges the rebellions of his alter ego figures ("algonquin pontiac," "tupac amaru ii," "my heart at wounded knee," "red tacky," "man song"), but he explains them as a consequence of Prospero's crimes ("young caliban howling for his tongue," "canefields...whose every sugar sweet will be/your mothers rape and shame"). Further undermining of Prospero's official (hi)story comes from a superimposition of points of view. What the European considers "riots fires insurrections" are heroic attempts at freedom for Caliban. The same cannibalistic barbarians who, according to Prospero, will have the men of his "christofaring ships" "hooked" and "marinate[d]" and for their atrocities end in Dante's Hell, are heroic rebels to Caliban. Prefigured as symbols of Europe's doom in Michelangelo's "chess checkered" Sistine Chapel, they will receive a hero's

reward in "valhalla."⁶ Caliban's final judgment on the imposition of "the fapal state machine" on his world ("and it is dark dark dark/in paradiso.../in this chess checkered chapel of our hell") suggests at least three simultaneous realities: 1) the dismal condition of the Caribbean ("it is dark dark dark/in paradiso") due to the intrusion of the "state machine"; 2) the preservation of African culture ("dark dark dark") by the Caribbean man in spite of the "state machine"; 3) the paradox of the Caribbean as "paradiso" and "hell" to both elements of its "chess checkered" (black/white) population.

X/Self 's second depiction of the European mind is mediated by an "Ariel" narrator, Angelo Solimann Africanus the Neumann, black "'friend, favourite, and tutor of European royalty'" (*X/Self* 122).⁷ His "insider"'s description of European world rule illustrates the workings of the "state machine" further:

now the world belongs to machiavell and philip
the second of spain

and to that calculating calvin

is them that working all night long in the high
light executive suites

on all the national security commissions
on all the full plenary sessions

is them who right what is rote in the paper
is them the master gunners in the sweating
three piece suits

who circumcizing caliban.

("And now a soft commentaries from Angelo
Solimann Africanus the Neumann," *X/Self* 55)

As the last line shows, the emphasis in this poem falls on Caliban's cultural castration, which was brought about by ruthless conquest (section 2) followed by calculated brainwashing (section 3):

2....

for the church
for the state for the state machine
for the merchant banker

....
will i destroy

welcoming the scavenger
will i establish rule

....
i'll roll these barbers back along the carpet
of prairies

i'll sink the whole lake of the aztecs on a
sunny sundae
after
noon

i'll take one i'll take two i'll take free i'll
take five
i'll take twenty & two & twenty two hundred &
twenty two too

& flake them alive

two hundred & twenty two thousand two million &
two bleaching sea
shells of skulls of too million scallops of
closed eyes of lost

eye
lids scattered along the beaches of the belgian
congo

....

3
soon i will be asked to ask them to forget
forgive
their savage homelands their dark & dung
& kraal & bantustans

and
 call me bucky massa yes yes good yes god
 yes gold

therefore no mud hut villages wearing those
 pygmy straw
 hats you will see within the pages of the
 phantomb

no afro hair dos in our schools no dialect
 around the holy house
 and on these
 premises

AFRICAANSE ONLY EVEN IF YOU NEVER PLEASE

....
 there will be no more promises before election
 time

in fact. there will no longer be election time

....
 there will be no more legislation.
 (X/Self 56-58)

The conqueror's credo ("for the church/for the state for
 the state machine/for the merchant banker"--which is more
 realistic than "For God, King, and Country") is invoked to
 justify the atrocities Europe has committed to "establish
 rule" over Caliban, such as creating "white blazing
 pyramids" from the skulls of the conquered. Brathwaite's
 annotation for these lines in the poem elaborates:

*pyramid (of skulls): described (illustrated) in
 Mark Twain's King Leopold's Soliloquy (1906),
 an almost disappeared account of Belgian
 exploitation of the Congo by the author of
 Huckleberry Finn:*

Out of the skulls he will build a combined
 monument and mausoleum to me [Leopold] which
 shall exactly duplicate the Great Pyramid of
 Cheops, whose base covers thirteen acres, and
 whose apex is 451 feet above ground...He will

build the pyramid in the center of a depopulated tract, a brooding solitude covered with weeds and the mouldering ruins of burned villages, where the spirit of the starved and the murdered dead will voice their laments forever in the whispers of the wandering winds....

(p.54).

(X/Self 123)

But massacring entire populations or wiping out whole cultures ("the aztecs") is not enough to "establish rule." As Brathwaite explains in "History of the Voice," imperialist rule was established by the sword and secured by the book:

What our educational system did was to recognize and maintain the language of the conquistador.... Hence,...Shakespeare, George Eliot, Jane Austen--British literature and literary forms, the models that were intimate to Great Britain, that had very little to do, really with the environment and the reality of the Caribbean--were dominant in the Caribbean educational system. People were forced to learn things that had no relevance to themselves.... The people educated in this system came to know more, even today, about English kings and queens than they do about our own national heroes, our own slave rebels.

(Roots 262-263)

However, the subjugation (no "election time," "no more legislation") of African culture and language ("pygmy straw hats, "afro hair dos," "dialect") to the language and culture of the colonizer ("AFRICAANSE [Afrikaans, ex-official language of South Africa] ONLY") does not mean its erasure but its transformation (creolization).

Brathwaite defines this transformation as "trying to have both cultures at the same time" and exemplifies it with

the child who, instead of writing in an essay "The snow was falling on the fields of Shropshire" (which is what our children literally were writing until a few years ago, below drawings they made of white snow fields and the corn-haired people who inhabited such a landscape), wrote "the snow was falling on the cane fields."

("History of the Voice," *Roots* 263-264)

Creolization is the way of Ariel. It is accepted by the white colonizer, in contrast to his aversion to the culture of Caliban, as he expresses elsewhere in "And now a soft commentaries": "we don't want catch no niggers out here no way neither nor any/ rasta man [Rastafarians] nor hippie..../no herb nor obi bush nor blue nor susumba [Afro-Caribbean medical herbs] no canefield doctor [medicine man]" (*X/Self* 59-60). Brathwaite's poetry consciously emphasizes Caliban's culture precisely because it has been outlawed.

Creolizing Sycorax and Caliban.

Brathwaite's preface to *Mother Poem* reads: "This poem is about porous limestone: my mother, Barbados: most English of West Indian islands, but at the same time nearest...to Africa." Fittingly, most of the collection describes Sycorax's efforts to survive slavery and neocolonialism while planning a better future for her children. Unfortunately, as Brathwaite notes, her plans are "limited and constantly threatened or destroyed by the

plantation" and "the males of her life" who "have become creatures, often agents, of the owner-merchant" (Preface to *Mother Poem*). Most important to Brathwaite are the power and influence of Sycorax: in her "resides the quality of soul grit or kernel, known as 'nam'"⁸ which gives her the strength to fight Prospero and to teach her son Caliban.

Brathwaite begins exploring Sycorax's origin and essence in the poem "Hex," whose first three sections define her alternately as goddess, Mother Nature, and black ex-slave:

1

....

she is alpha
she is omega
she is happy

it is not failure that disturbs her:
she dreams and interprets her dreams

it is not crack of faith that disturbs her
she has seen too many ghosts

it is not fear
for she is always alone

2

....

and because her inheritance is swallowed by
strangers:
her houses, her beaches, the views of her
landscape

from which the youngsters sap milk
are turned over to tourists: to terrorists:

....

all the peaks, the promontories, the coves, the
glitter

bays of her body have been turned into money
the grass ploughed up and fed into mortar of
houses
for master for mister for massa for mortal baas
her sands are now owned by the minister midas
and have been burned into careful gold
brochures
the leaves of her trees are now printed in
amsterdam
her breadfruit is sold into foreigner factories
and returned to her sons wrapped up in tins to
be eaten as chips

3
so she sits, bandana ikon

stool in the corner
that cool stone in the backyard
that flat rock underneath the cotton tree
that rocking chair on the enslaved verandah

black sycorax my mother

she wears on her wrist the shadow of the chain
history of flesh
written by whip of torture
legacy of bribe.
(Mother Poem 45-47)

Although "black Sycorax" the ex-slave is the one that prepares the hex against Prospero by gathering herbs and sticks "from the sicknesses of the plantation," the latency of the other two Sycorax figures in her make her incantation triply potent: Prospero is simultaneously cursed by woman, by nature, and by goddess :

4
let unhappiness come
let unhappiness come
my face strikes a match of darkness

scrape your itches
crack for your giddy spell

gutter and out for your blindness

....

may you nibble the neighbour's meat

curdle his milk

melt his oxen hoof down to glue

....

if the baby will sleep, fist

curled, thumb in the mouth: dribbling happiness

wake it wake it

....

if you see white

it will not be the white clay of celebration

if you see red

it will not be the elders approaching

for the whipped slave

cannot love you

....

the broken lives, broken eyes

shattered syllables of leaves

cannot love you

....

even though my wound beats with your christ's
wrist

may unhappiness come

may unhappiness come

blasting the roots and branches

....

may you trip your foot up on wednesday

may your mirror shatter on sunday

....

let unhappiness come

let unhappiness come

let unhappiness come

my face is towards the darkness where our
voices are not one.

(Mother Poem 48-49)⁹

As in Shakespeare, Caliban's ability to curse his master comes from his mother Sycorax. In fact, if Sycorax continues to curse Prospero even after the events of *The Tempest* have passed and Caliban ~~seems~~ to be his own man,

rock/....from hothersal"). As a result, the children shun all activities that remind them of their low class origins (the "housework" with which they will not help includes carrying "bucket on head of water" and "milking the goat"), and they look forward to a brighter future as Ariel teachers, doctors, lawyers and politicians of the British Empire.

But Sycorax does not give up on her children. In "Nametracks" her struggle with Prospero ("ogrady") over the possession of Caliban becomes a long linguistic battle:

4	say
but	stick
	say
ogrady says	dog
say i	
say i	say
	sick
not me	
not man	say
not muddah	good
i	say
	god
....	
say	ogrady says
i	
not	say
	whip
....	
say	i
	say
i	i
am your world	
	say
you must not	i
break	ogrady says

it:quick
ogrady says

say
aei

5
but

me muh
me muh
mud
me mudda

brek
de word
she eat it like cheese
like curl'd milk
like yellow bread

an she teach an she teach mih

dat the worl' risin in de yeast
wid red wid cloud wid mornin mist
wid de eye:ron of birds

6
but

look
ogrady says

look lock
ogrady says

lock bar bolt rivet
and throw away the prison

say lack
ogrady says

....
say i
ogrady says

say rot
ogrady says

say i
say i
say ice

say rat

ogrady says

say right
say white
say wrong

....

say ship	say trip
say whip	say trap
	say sit
	ogrady says
not sheep	say shit
ogrady says	
	say pain
say kill	say blame
	say cane
sails	say name
future wrack	ogrady says
plantations greening	
say scream	not me
ogrady says	not muh
	not mudda
eye	
cannot dream	drain
ogrady says	
say	
name	
....	
i come	
ogrady says	
to strangle	
you maim	
in de grounn	
7	
but	
muh	
muh	
mud	
me mudda	
coo	
like she coo	
like she cook	
an she cumya to me pun de grounn	

like she lik mih
 like she lik me wid grease like she grease mih
 she cum to me years like de yess off a leaf
 an she issper
 she cum to me years and she purr like a puss
 and she esssper

she lisper to me dat me name what me name
 dat me name is me main an it am is me own an
 lion eye mane
 dat whinner menk tek you an ame, dem is
 nomminit diff'rent an nan
 so mandingo she yessper you nam.
 (*Mother Poem 58-62*)

Prospero/O'Grady attempts to enslave Caliban through language, inasmuch as language creates reality: all the words Caliban learns signal his gradual submission to Prospero, particularly the symbols of his slavery ("ship/whip," "trip/trap," "pain/blame/ cane"), and his psychological and linguistic bondage (Prospero's "say/i/say/i/i/am your world [word]"). Prospero, however, is not satisfied with delimiting and defining Caliban's world view. He must also destroy all possibility of Caliban's reversion to his original culture and language. For this, Prospero must find out Caliban's secret name ("maim"), his "nam," and "strangle/[it]/in de grounn".¹⁰

Sycorax counteracts Prospero's colonization, first by destroying Caliban's oral contract with Prospero (she "brek/de word [world]/she eat it like cheese"), then by teaching Caliban about Africa ("de worl' risin in de yeast") and passing on his identity ("nam") to him ("mandingo [peoples from Western Africa] she yessper you

nam"). In the end, Sycorax triumphs, for although Prospero/O'Grady succeeds in submerging Caliban's culture and language, he could not steal his "soul-source":

9	back to back belly to belly	nomminit
	dun dung dead in de grounn	nomminit
		nomminit
10		an
	an	e
	e	nomminit
		nomminit
	nomminit	nomminit
	nomminit	
	nomminit	but e nevver maim
	what me	
		mudda me name
	an	an e nevver nyam
	what me	
	e	mane
	nomminit	11
	nomminit	
	nomminit	back to back
		belly to bell
		uh doan give a damn
	lame me black	
	lame me blue	uh dun dead a'ready
	lame poopapadoo	
	lame me nig	back to back
	belly lame me nog	to
	belly	
	lame me boobabaloo	dun dung dead in de
		grounn...

(Mother Poem 64)

In its present state, Caliban's culture has been buried and dirtied ("dun dung dead in de grounn") and Caliban

himself is "lamed" (labeled/named/crippled) as "black," "blue," "nig[er]." Still, Caliban can afford not to "give a damn" because, for all the master's power, Prospero can never destroy Caliban's spirit ("e nevver nyam [cannot eat] what me/mane[name/main=soul]") or change his essence.

Caliban's defiance was hard to come by. Brathwaite's earlier depictions of the character exhibited a close proximity to Shakespeare's monster--alone, full of rage and fear of Prospero, confusing freedom with a change in masters. The Caliban of *Islands*, for example, is introduced by the poet after a long description of how the condition of Caribbean Caliban has not changed in spite of Caliban's replacement of his colonial master, Europe/Prospero, for a new neo-colonial one, the United States/Stephano¹¹:

1
Ninety-five per cent of my people poor
ninety-five per cent of my people black
ninety-five per cent of my people dead
you have heard it all before....

and now I see that these modern palaces have
grown
out of the soil, out of the bad habits of their
crippled owners

....
out of the living stone, out of the living bone
of coral, these dead
towers; out of the coney
islands of our mind-

less architects, this death
of sons, of songs, of sunshine

....
In Havana that morning, as every morning,
the police toured the gambling houses

wearing their dark glasses
and collected tribute

....

newspapers spoke of Wall Street and the social
set

who was with who, what medals did the
Consulate's Assistant wear.
("Caliban," *Islands* 34; emphasis mine)

The "modern palaces" and "dead towers" grow like parasites on the "living stone/bone/coral" of the island represent the slow suffocation of Caliban's "nam" ("this death/of sons/of songs/of sunshine") by the sterility of modern Western civilization. As Gordon Rohlehr points out in his analysis of "Caliban," the strong allusion to Lawrence Ferlinghetti's "A Coney Island of the Mind" corresponds to that poet's sarcastic mockery of "over-fed, bored suburban America," whose "plastic, 'cement skies', neon lights, ice cream beaches [and] people are like Goya's monstrous cripples" (*Pathfinder* 222).

Caliban's island also suffers from human parasites. The vampiric activities of the imperialist's henchmen in the colonies ("the police toured the gambling houses/wearing dark glasses/and collected tribute") and the freeloading lives of the island's Ariel lackeys such as the Caribbean *nouveau riche* ("the social set") and the imperialist official (the decorated "Consulate's/Assistant") demonstrate how quickly the colonial learns from his imperial master to prey on others.

The Caribbean situation seems so hopeless that Brathwaite depicts it as reverting into one of its worse

periods in history, the beginnings of European conquest and colonization of the New World:

It was December second, nineteen fifty-six.
It was the first of August eighteen thirty-eight.
It was the twelfth October fourteen ninety-two.

How many bangs how many revolutions?
(*Islands* 35)

Brathwaite reverses time from the liberation of Cuba ("December second, nineteen fifty-six") to the "discovery" of America ("twelfth October fourteen ninety-two"). This not only implies that Caribbean history may be an unbreakable circle ("how many revolutions?") but that the emancipation of the slaves ("first of August eighteen thirty-eight") never truly occurred,¹² a fact reinforced by the final rhetorical question: how many revolutions will it be needed to finally liberate the people of the Caribbean?

By reversing the time sequence, Brathwaite also helps introduce the four-hundred-year-old Caliban, almost identical as the figure Shakespeare imagined: he is a comical "savage and deformed" ex-slave drunkely dancing at the island's Carnival:

2

And
Ban
Ban
Cal
iban
like to play

pan
 at the Car
 nival;
 pran
 cing up to the lim-
 bo silence
 down
 down
 down
 so the god won't drown
 him
 down
 down
 down
 to the is-
 land town
 (*Islands* 35)

Caliban's ditty in this section ("Ban/Ban/Cal-/iban") was originally Shakespeare's chorus for his monster's song of liberation, but it also represents the sound his "[butta]pan"¹³ makes as he plays it in the Carnival. The obvious irony comes from the fact that Caliban's song **has never been** a song of freedom, neither in Shakespeare's play nor here. To add to Caliban's pathetic condition, Brathwaite gives him a pathetic figure: not only does he look half human (he plays Pan at the Carnival) but he "prances" instead of walking. As Rohler notes, Caliban's "prancing up" also indicates that "behind and beneath the mask of gaiety and confidence lies a fear of the overwhelming oppression maintained by the 'god' who rules his island-town" (*Pathfinder* 224). But as Brathwaite has illustrated, Caliban not only dances to escape the reality

of his colonial condition, but to be possessed by the African gods:

[Limbo] is said to have originated--a necessary therapy--after the experience of the cramped conditions between the slave decks of the Middle Passage. Now very popular as a performing act in Caribbean night clubs.
(*The Arrivants* 274)

Limbo then reflects a certain kind of gateway or threshold to a new world and the dislocation of a chain of miles.

(Brathwaite quoting Wilson Harris' *History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and Guianas*, *Roots* 233)

Once again the irony is that the dance that celebrated the freedom of movement of the slaves and their power to create a "dislocated" reality has degenerated into an attraction for tourists, a symbol of Caliban's bondage to his new master. Still, the limbo's therapeutic function as a gateway back to the gods remains:

down
down
down
and the dark-
ness fall-
ing; eyes
shut tight
and the whip light
crawl-
ing round the ship
where his free-
dom drown
....
dip-
ping down
and the black
gods call-
ing, back
he falls

through the water's
cries
down
down
down
where the si-
lence lies.
(*Islands* 34)

The reversal of Caliban's trip from Africa to the Caribbean requires that he go through the agonies of the Middle Passage again ("crawl-/ing round the ship/where his free/dom drown"). As Caliban "dips down" into oblivion (Limbo) he can hear the call of the African gods in the drum beats ("down/down/down"). For Rohlehr, Caliban's descent to Limbo, "where the music hides him" and "where the silence lies" is just "a refuge and an escape, rather than...liberation" (*Pathfinder* 225). However, if we consider that in Dante's *Inferno* Limbo is the resting place for unbaptized souls and that its silence and general sadness only comes from the fact that the spirits confined there **are not able to see God** (Canto 4), then Caliban's descent into Limbo, like Dante's, can be one stage of his trip to Paradise where the "black gods" await him. In the third section we enter Caliban's mind as he is possessed and liberated by the gods of his ancestors:

3

And limbo stick is the silence in front of me
limbo

limbo
limbo like me
limbo

limbo like me

long dark night is the silence in front of me

limbo

limbo like me

stick hit sound

....

long dark deck and the water surrounding me

long dark deck and the silence is over me

limbo

limbo like me

stick is the whip

and the dark deck is slavery

....

drum stick knock

and the darkness is over me

....

knees spread wide

and the ground is under me

down

down

down

and the drummer is calling me

limbo

limbo like me

sun coming up

and the drummers are praising me

out of the dark

and the dumb gods are raising me

up

up

up

and the music is saving me

hot

slow

step

on the burning ground.
(*Islands* 37-38)

The conflation of the limbo stick and the slave driver's whip, of the night Caliban sees as he bends back to pass under the limbo stick and the "long dark deck" of the slave ship that brought his people to the Caribbean indicates a ritual of passage: Caliban is about to be reborn, to be "saved" through his possession by the "dumb gods" represented in the music of the drums. According to Brathwaite, possession "by the ordinary, believing, participating, individual worshipper" is "the basic point about African...and the Caribbean gods" (*The Arrivants* 271). He goes on to explain what Caliban is experiencing as he loses himself in the limbo:

Possession...is induced by the drums or by rhythmic hand-clapping and chanting. The celebrant's body acts as a kind of lightning conductor for the god. In the moment of possession, the divine electrical charge becomes grounded (so that the earth and the things of the earth assume a special significance).
(*The Arrivants* 271)

As the chanting of the crowd ("*limbo/limbo like me*") urges Caliban to lower himself nearer and nearer the ground with each passage under the limbo stick, he sees the darkness of his slavery being replaced by sunrise ("*sun coming up*") which also becomes his cue, as the prodigal son/sun of Sycorax, to come "out of the dark" ("*up/up/up*") of his colonial condition by partaking of his African heritage

fully. The limbo stick is set on fire, which makes Caliban's passage more daring, but also represents the burning of the slavedriver's whip. At this point he becomes "grounded" ("the music is saving me"). His "hot/slow/step" burns the ground with the fire of the gods--and in a possible answer to the reality of the poem's first section, with the fire of a much needed Caribbean revolution.

In contrast, the Caliban of Brathwaite's *Black+Blues*, also a victim of the corruption of Prospero's cities, has been forsaken by the gods: "I have become lost in this forest of singing wires/ of grasshopper gossip/of syphilitic cities of no night"(29). Fires burn everywhere; the land is dry and cracked open, coal itself "explodes inwards to furnace of darkness," the ashes of incense and dead leaves cover everything, the harvests have been trampled on. Caliban dreams of "monkeys [pitchers] of limestone water that would contain [his] thirst" but there is "no goblet, no dampness" (30). The apocalyptic images end with a description of Caliban as a crushed and fallen tragic hero, a sacrifice to the "victory of the cities":

And i caliban
 blind
 and i caliban
 tortured
 and i caliban
 twisted and bent

 the flesh of dark
 into which i have carved no holy place

the lightning of these scars
 exposed exposed.
 (*Black+Blues* 30-31)

Caliban represents the rebel heroes, those who defied the gods and were punished for their pride, from Oedipus ("blind") to Milton's Satan ("lightning of these scars"). His defeat has led to a life in a literal hell where he can find no water to appease his thirst for freedom or to grow food for his soul. That Brathwaite resorts to Western culture's recognized symbols to express Caliban's desolation and wretchedness problematizes his re-creation of the colonial experience. Like Lamming's Caribbean artists in *Water With Berries*, Brathwaite/Caliban still cannot escape Prospero's linguistic and literary trap.

The melancholic Caliban of *Black+Blues* easily leads to the existential Caliban of *X/Self*. As the title of this collection indicates, Brathwaite is exploring his Afro-Caribbean identity in an attempt to rename himself--as Césaire's Caliban does in *A Tempest*.¹⁴ At points, his task proves to be laborious and even futile: like Lamming, Brathwaite seems unable to break free from the prison of Prospero's language. Consider, for instance, the collection's introductory poem:

An then suddenly so
 widdout rhyme
 widdout reason

you crops start to die
 you cant even see the sun in the sky;
 an suddenly so, without rhyme,

without reason, all you hope gone
 eve'rything look like it comin out wrong.
 Why is dat? What it mean?

Elsewhere Brathwaite has argued that too many English-Caribbean poets have been unable to break away from the tyranny of the iambic pentameter,¹⁵ but that is clearly not the case of his poetry. Why would he feel hopelessly rhymeless? One of the poems in the collection that best captures this inability to express the self, repeating the same questions of the introductory poem, "Why is dat? What it mean?," is called "X/Self's Xth Letters from the Thirteenth Provinces," later revised and republished by Brathwaite in his 1992 collection, *Middle Passages*, under the name "Letter Sycorax." Since "Letter Sycorax" is obviously Brathwaite's updated version of the poem, I will be referring mostly to it, noting when I use extracts from "X/Self's Xth Letters...."

The poem literally is a letter Caliban writes to his mother Sycorax to tell her he has gotten a computer. In it, Caliban tries to explain to his mother about his writing, confronting such questions as why he got the computer in the first place:

1

Dear mamma

i writin yu dis letter/wha?
 guess what! pun a computer o/kay?
 like i jine de mercantilists?

well not quite!

i mean the same way dem tief/in gun
power from sheena & taken we blues &

gone

...

if you cyaan beat prospero
whistle

n

wid this χ now

long before yi cud say jackie robb
inson or rt-d2 or shout

wre χ

dis ya obeah blo χ

get a whole whole para
graph write up &

blink
pun a black
bird

....
mamma

a doan really know how pascal & co.
balt & apple & cogito ergo sum
come to h/invent all these tings since

de rice and fall a de roman empire
& how capitalism and slaveley like it putt
christianity
on ice

so dem cd always open dat cole
smokin door a hell when dem ready for ash or
a psalm

immediately protests he has not "jine de mercantilists" but that he is using Prospero's latest language tool against him, just like Prospero stole "gun/power from sheena [China] & taken we blues." Caliban's motto is not "if you can't beat Prospero, join him" but "if you cyaan beat prospero, whistle." That is, pretend to go along with Prospero, keep a low profile, and even play the fool if necessary. And even if Caliban does not know what it has taken to invent the products of rationalism ("cogito ergo sum") he is using, such as computers or computer language ("pascal & co./balt & apple"), he knows very well that "capitalism and slaveley" evolved from European rationalism. Rationalism has also "frozen" christian charity in order that the imperialist can take it out like a "sangridge or/choke [sandwich or coke]" from a fridge to simultaneously feign piety ("ash or a psalm/sangridge" [ash Wednesday/Psalm Sunday]) and stifle ("choke") those who oppose imperialism.

But Caliban's most important reason to use a computer is that it may liberate him from "crawl[ing] up [to] de white" master on his hands and knees. The poem itself shows Caliban's playful experimentation with different fonts and letter sizes, in his first "flat/foot" attempts to find his voice. He acknowledges his awkwardness: he is Charlie Chaplin trying to dance as Bill

curser

though um not like when covetous ride miss
praedial

mule

.

but is like we will start
where we start/in out start/in out start/in out
start

....
what is de bess way to seh so/so it doan sounn
like

brigg

flatts or her. vokitz nor de

π .

san cantos nor de souf sea bible

nor like ink.el & yarico & de anglo sa χ on
chronicles.

(*Middle Passages* 881-83)

Caliban's explanation, "a doan write./ly know" ironically also tells us he has to call the poem/himself "X" because he still does not possess the language to name the world ("a doan write."). Thus, Caliban is using Prospero's language as a starting point for his own language ("what i try./in to sen/seh [sense/make sense].../in prospero ling./uage"), and not, as probably Sycorax thinks, to understand and become assimilated to Prospero's culture ("not fe dem/not fe dem") as Shakespeare's Caliban naively did, but to raise a voice for all the voiceless people Prospero has oppressed. Ironically, when Caliban learns to

use Prospero's tool, Prospero will "get curse[d]/wid im own/[computer] curser") and he will not like it, as he did not like it when Caliban attempted to "ride" on Prospero's other barren creation, Miranda ("um not like when covetuous ride miss praedial/mule"). For Caliban, the real problem is not starting a language by exploding Prospero's language, but how to make it the ~~true~~ item, not a hoax like "de souf[south] sea bible [bubble]" or a copy of other English-oriented hybrid works ("brigg/ flatts," "in. el & yarico"), and least of all a defense of the "authenticity" of a submerged or originating culture ("her.vokitz," "de π .san cantos," "de anglo sa χ on chronicles").¹⁷

The more Caliban thinks of the enormous task that (re)constructing his culture means, the more distressed and depressed he feels: his is the task of King Sisyphus, who eternally heaves a great rock up a hill, only to have it come tumbling back down as soon as he reaches the top¹⁸:

a fine
a cyaan get nutten

rite
....
while a stannin up hey in me years & like i inside a me
shadow

like de mahn still mekkin mwe walk up de slope dat e
slide
in black down de whole long curve a de arch

i
.
pell
.
a
.
go
.

some
times smile
in nice

some
times like e really laughin after we & some
times like e helpin we up while e push.

in we back
dung
again

....
how
ever yu
runnin up runnin up runnin up

it still

going down
going down
going down
going down

like sahel
like syphyllis
like
the edges of the desert

&

guess who down dey at de top
a de line wid dante & dodo & julie &
nappo & nix & adolph

....
& like what yu say happ.
en in libraria

all dem brooks of the dead

&
mamma
 a know yu can plant lettice & rice but yu cyaan
 eat

ikebana.
 (*Middle Passages* 83-85)

Caliban becomes a Caribbean Sisyphus by pushing the rock (Prospero's culture/language) up the hill of his Antillean archipelago ("i/./pell/./a/./go"), in an attempt to reverse Prospero's journey and render back his "gifts," while Prospero ("de mahn still mekin mwe walk up de slope") hypocritically seems to encourage him in his labor ("some/times smile./in nice" and "some/times like e helpin we up") when in actuality he is forcing him to go back down ("e push./in we back/dung[down/into the dung] again"). But what worries Caliban the most is that his paradoxical situation ("how/ever yu/ runnin up..../it still/going down") becomes more generalized with time; it spreads like the dry areas of north Africa ("sahel," "the edges of the [Sahara] desert"); it passes on from one generation to the other like syphilis. Again, as in *Black+Blues* and *Islands*, Caliban finds himself in the waiting room of Hell, Limbo, this time sharing it with "de top/a de line"--characters ranging from the architect of Hell, Dante, to Adolph Hitler, who undoubtedly dwells there by his own merit. Hell, like Liberia ("libraria") becomes Caliban's returning place, where the sources to renew life ("all a dem brooks of the dead [the rivers of

Hell/Egyptian mortuary texts made up of magic formulas believed to help the deceased in the hereafter") have been dried, burnt like the library in Alexandria, one of the wonders of the Ancient World. Caliban realizes that he has to create a language that will provide nourishment to its speakers ("lettice," "rice") but all the "calibanization" has accomplished so far is marvellously creative but still as foreign to his essence as Japanese art of "ikebana."

In spite of the comedy and difficulty of his situation, Caliban keeps on trying to find his roots in Prospero's foreign world. The poem leaves us with an image of Caliban's figure still down in Limbo, but patiently building the language that will undermine Prospero's world:

Yet a sitting dung here in front a dis
stone face

eeee
lectrical mallet inna me

fist

chipp/in dis poem onta dis tab.
let

chiss.
ellin dark.

ness
writing in light

like is is a some. is some. is a some
body. a

χ-

pert or some

thing like moses or aaron or one of dem dyaaam
isra

light

(*Middle Passages* 87)

Caliban's computer screen ("stone face") is also a stone slab, the rock he keeps heaving up (an image for Prospero's culture and language), and the deadly face of his past failures. For all that, Caliban continues to chisel the poem/Prospero's rock/his self to a new form, discarding all that obscures it, and finding and introducing new illuminating meanings ("chiss./ellin dark./ness /writing in light"). And considering the enormity and complexity of Caliban's chore, his anxiety about his competency and authority ("like i is a.../X-pert or some/thing") seems normal. The more Caliban/Brathwaite realizes he has become a leader of his people, a bringer of laws ("moses," "aaron"), the more he will fear being a fake and doubt the quality and truth of his work, particularly since he has failed many times in escaping his colonial condition.¹⁹ We have come full circle to the introductory poem: "without reason, all you hope gone/ev'rything look like it comin out wrong." It would seem however, that Caliban/Brathwaite's existential doubts have diminished considerably in the five years since the poem was first published, as Brathwaite decided to cut from the revised version the anguished questioning

echoing his introduction ("why is/dat?/what it/mean?") that ends Caliban's letter, and to focus more on Caliban's difficulty in arising from the hell/Limbo of his colonial condition.

Conclusion: young caliban keeps howling for his tongue.

To close this outline of Brathwaite's appropriation of characters and themes from *The Tempest*, I would like to summarize and particularize those elements in Brathwaite's overall work that define his treatment of Shakespeare's play. First in my list are the transformations that stem from Caliban's response to Miranda's charge of ungratefulness on the grounds that she (and probably Prospero) taught Caliban how to speak. Caliban retorts: "You taught me language, and my profit on't/Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you/For learning me your language! (*The Tempest*, 1.2.363-365). From these three lines by Caliban, Brathwaite extracts three ideas that he develops variously throughout his work: first, the cursing of Prospero with his own language as shown in "Hex" and "Letter Sycorax"--always in Brathwaite's mind connected to Sycorax/Africa, partly because that continent has had traditions and cultures older than its European counterparts, and therefore can be a powerful adversary, and maybe because in *The Tempest* Sycorax is a powerful witch whose "black magic" could have matched Prospero's. Second, there is Brathwaite's rejection of the notion that

Caliban had no language before Prospero taught him his, exquisitely dramatized in "Nametracks" through the use of "nam" (irreducible self/sense), "nation-language", and "nomminit" (cultural domination). Third, as a consequence of this struggle between African and European languages and cultures, Caliban "calibanizes" Prospero's language.

The "calibanization" of Prospero's language permeates Brathwaite's poetry, from his first attempts at replacing the tyranny of the iambic pentameter with improvised rhythms and experimentations with space in *The Arrivants*, *Mother Poem*, and *Sun Poem*. Consider the form of such an early poem as "Caliban":

And
 Ban
 Ban
 Cal-
 iban
 like to play
 pan
 at the Car
 nival;
 pran-
 cing up to the lim-
 bo silence
 down
 down
 down
 so the god won't drown
 him
 down
 down
 down
 to the is-
 land town.
 (*The Arrivants* 192)

Brathwaite here has conveniently fragmented the words so that the poem will mimic the sound **and** look of limbo (the longer lines indicating the stick under which the dancer must pass). But Brathwaite not only "calibanizes" rhythm and form. His poetry also internalizes techniques widely used in African oral literature, such as repetition and call/response, both of which can be exemplified with an extract from "Nametracks":

9	
know	but he never what me main
but me head hard ogrady an me doan give a damn	
	an
me back to me belly an me dun dead a'ready	e
back to back belly to belly dun dung dead in de grounn nomminit nomminit nomminit	nomminit nomminit nomminit
	an
an	e
e	nomminit nomminit nomminit
nomminit nomminit nomminit	
an	but e nevver maim what me mudda me name an e nevver nyam what me mane

(Mother Poem 64)

Here the constant repetition of "nomminit" three times in every strophe causes the reader to hear Prospero trying to

"gobble up" Caliban's "nam." But because the section is written in the form of call/response, the reader gets, **simultaneously**, Caliban's insistence that Prospero, for all his efforts, cannot nullify Caliban's name.

The last linguistic "calibanization," Caliban's voice, has changed considerably from *The Arrivants* to *Middle Passages*. First, Caliban speaks very "correct" English, even if pronounced in his own internal/"nation-language" rhythms, as in this example from "Caliban":

long dark deck and the water sorrounding me
long dark deck and the silence is over me

limbo
limbo like me

stick is the whip
and the dark deck is slavery

limbo
limbo like me

drum stick knock
and the darkness is over me, etc.
(*The Arrivants* 194)

Although Caliban uses sound to connect some of the monosyllables ("drum stick knock"), most of his sentences are still "gramatically correct." The "correctness" of Caliban's English is violated further when Brathwaite **creolizes** Caliban's pronunciation in "Nametracks":

5
but

me muh
me muh

mud
me mudda

brek
de word
she eat it like cheese
like curl'd milk
like yellow bread
(*Mother Poem 59*)

Here Caliban's spelling ('mudda,' 'brek') and "incorrect" subject-verb agreement ("eat" should be "eats") indicate the intromission of Caliban's "mother tongue," his original "nation-language." On the other hand, although sentence structure has been broken, words still remain intact as the basic units of meaning. Compare, then, this excerpt with Caliban's most complex experimentation with the English language, which combines the fragmentation of words, the sounds and rhythms of "nation-language," other improvisational rhythms, and printing devices such as varied fonts:

&
mamma

a fine
a cyaan get nutten

rite
a cyaan get nutten really

rite

while a stannin up hey in me years & like i inside me a
shadow

like de mahn still mekkin mwe walk up de slope dat e
slide
in black down de whole long curve a de arch

i
 .
 pell
 .
 a
 .
 go
 .
 some

 times smile.
 in nice

 some
 times like e really laughing after we & some
 times like e helpin we up while e push.

 in we back
 dung
 again
 ("Letter Sycorax," *Middle Passages* 83-84)

The hesitant stammering here is *intentional* since Brathwaite's Caliban is creating a new language as he writes. And the allusive density of Caliban's language is staggering: I have already pointed out how the form of this part of the poem mimics the geographical position of the Antillean archipelago up which Caliban/Sisyphus metaphorically heaves the rock of his punishment. Or consider Caliban's separation of the word "pushing" into "push." and "in" so that we are momentarily fooled into believing that Prospero actually helps Caliban push his rock up the hill, only to realize that what Prospero is doing is push Caliban down again. On the whole, these instances illustrate not only Caliban's brilliant learning of his master's language, but also how he has made this

language truly his own--even if he still uses it mainly to curse Prospero.

In addition to the transformations Brathwaite/Caliban performs on Prospero's language, Brathwaite effects a second set of transformations that develop the submerged colonial subtext implicit in two assertions Caliban makes to Prospero the first time he appears in *The Tempest*. In a long complaint detailing Prospero's treachery and abuse against him, Caliban affirms that "This island's mine by Sycorax my mother, /Which thou tak'st from me" (1.2. 332-33) and

I am all the subjects that you have
Which first was mine own king; and here you sty
me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' th' island.
(1.2. 341-344)

Since for Brathwaite Caliban mainly represents the enslaved Africans who came to work in the Caribbean colonies, the first assertion illustrates Caliban's neocolonial situation (after his apparent liberation from Prospero). The stifling of the new republics and their people by (mostly American) imperialism concerns almost all of Brathwaite's poetry, but it is most obvious in his poetry about the islands of the Caribbean (*Islands, Mother Poem*). Brathwaite explores how the colonized peoples counteract this modern imperialism by creating alternative realities: Caliban is possessed by the African gods in "Caliban" and Sycorax carefully rehearses an African

"anti-praise" poem against Prospero in "Hex." But for the most part, what seems to keep Caliban going is the impermeability of his "nam," which he has inherited from Sycorax, his African mother who also represents the "magical realism" of Mother Nature in the Caribbean islands.

Caliban's second assertion ("I am all the subjects that you have...") denotes his enslavement by Prospero ("here you sty me/In this hard rock"), a theme that pervades Brathwaite's poetry. For Brathwaite, the extract also denotes the erasure of history and dignity that accompanies slavery. The poet, then, sets to unearth the history of the enslaved Caliban. For this he usually juxtaposes different time periods and people to indicate previously unadmitted connections or parallelisms in history. He starts using this "magical irrationalism"--as it has been called by critics--most notoriously in *X/Self*. Consider his annotations for one of his poems in that collection:

Here is magical montage with a vengeance:
 Caesar as Richard Nix, crossing the Rubicon
 in a 'red catallac', the rape of the 'sabine
 drum majorettes', vinegar instead of coca
 cola', Roman Capitol become St Peter's
 dome become Washington, DC, become 'ruined/
 colosseum'... 'when the dome/break'; the 'ides
 of march' becomes the 'day[bay] of pigs',
 that ill-fated Caesarean 1961 expedition
 against Revolutionary Cuba, and other imperial
 defeats: sauteurs (French Amerindian Grenada
 1654: a last-ditch stand on the fortified
 heights, like the Jewish masada, **except that**

**the name occurs in no index of standard Caribbean history); Dien Bien Phu (French Indochina/Vietnam 1954).
(X/Self 115-116; emphasis mine)**

We will see later how Brathwaite's "calibanistic" revision of history inevitably leads to the connection of his Caliban with that of other Caribbean writers: like George Lamming's three artists, Brathwaite's Caliban is struggling for identity in the age of neo-colonialism; like Césaire's Caliban, he affirms his independence from Prospero and takes pride in his African heritage. Most importantly, Caliban's revision of history universalizes his experience by tying it to the millions historically and presently oppressed by imperialism throughout the world, which makes it impossible for us to dismiss his figure, his voice, or his political struggle as parochial.

Chapter Four: Aimé Césaire.

Perhaps the most well-known Caribbean appropriation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Aimé Césaire's *A Tempest* is, by Césaire's own definition, "an adaptation for a Black Theatre."¹ In reality, Césaire makes such a profound revision of Shakespeare's *Tempest* that the word adaptation falls short to describe his play. Critic Joan Dayan points out how Césaire's text establishes a dialogue with its Shakespearean "original":

If we take Césaire at his word and read his play as an adaptation, not as a disavowal or destruction of what preceded it, then we begin to understand how both texts are complicated through mutual adaptation or **convertibility**. What might have seemed to be a case of simple rebellion becomes instead an accommodation that puts the stuff of legend (the romantic gesture of rebel and conqueror) in a dialogue so powerful that it implicates both colonized and colonizer.
(130)

Césaire's *A Tempest* does not respond to its predecessor, but works its way inside out from Shakespeare's play to re-see its conflict through the eyes of Caliban. In this sense, his play would be the first to **decentralize** Shakespeare's text as the only version of what happened on Prospero's island.

Forging colonialism.

Césaire's island is the prototypical setting of a New World colony. We can infer that the island is in

America from Trinculo's song as he wanders through the woods:

Virginie, les larmes aux yeux
Je viens te faire mes adieux.
Nous partons pour le Mexique
Nous allons droit au couchant.

[Virginia, with tears in my eyes
I come to bid you good-bye
We leave for Mexico
We are going straight to the West.]
(*A Tempest* 3.2; trans. mine)

Also, as Roger Toumson notes, the geography of Césaire's island is specifically Antillean (*Trois Calibans* 462). Although many characters' references emphasize the tropical flora and fauna (Antonio recognizes a nearby tree as a coconut palm, Stephano mistakes Gonzalo's mention of guano for the word iguana, Trinculo complains about his face being "eaten off" by mosquitoes, etc.), none makes the tropical setting as specifically Antillean as Caliban's freedom song:

Noir picoreur de la savane
le quiscalle arpente le jour nouveau
dru et vif
dans son armure hautaine.
zip! L'incisif colibri
au fond d'une corolle s'éjouit
fera-t-il fou, fera-t-il ivre
lyre rameutant nos délires
la Liberté ohé! La Liberté!
....
Ramier halte dans ces bois
Errant des îles c'est ici le repos
Le miconia est pillage pur
du sang violet de la baie mûre
de sang de sang barbouille ton plumage
voyageur!

Dans le dos des jours fourbus
qu'on entende
la Liberté ohé! La liberté!

[Black marauder of the savanna,
the quiscal scoures the new day
fledged and full of life
from his lofty armor.
Zip! The incisive humming bird
rejoices in the bottom of a corolla.
Is he crazy, is he drunk,
a lyre gathering our ravings?
Freedom, hey! Freedom!

....
Dove pause in this wood,
Wanderer of the isles, the resting place is
here.

The miconia is pure pillage
of the ripe berry's violet blood
blood, blood scrawls your wayfaring
plumage!
From the back of your tired days
let's hear
Freedom, hey! Freedom!]
(A *Tempest* 3.2; trans. mine)

Instead of celebrating his new bondage as in Shakespeare's play, Caliban sings of "an end to tyranny" in metaphors that exalt the flora and fauna of his island. While it is true that the savanna can be found in Africa as well as in America, the quiscal, the humming bird, and the miconia are all restricted in distribution to the New World (Encyclopedia Brittanica).²

In accordance with the colonial setting, Césaire makes two important "alterations" to Shakespeare's characters: Ariel becomes "a mulatto slave," Caliban "a black slave." Césaire also adds to the *Tempest* characters the black god of mischief Eshu, the Master of Ceremonies,

and the Friar of the Holy Inquisition. The function of the Master of Ceremonies will be discussed in the section of *A Tempest* as drama. The Friar, on the other hand, serves as a catalyst and participant in European colonialism.

The Friar appears in a flashback Prospero has while he acquaints Miranda with the story of their exile from Milan. Although Prospero tells Miranda that he was exiled for being a sorcerer, the actual charges The Friar reads from his parchment scroll have more to do with Prospero's project "to set forth to take possession of [new lands]":

The Holy Inquisition....informed of the errors you profess, insinuate and publish against God and his Creation with regard to the shape of the Earth and the **possibility of discovering other lands**... and...given that you have hitherto escaped punishment...doth thereby strip you of your titles, positions and honors.
(*A Tempest* 2.2; emphasis mine)

Césaire historicizes the story of *The Tempest* to represent the gigantic imperialistic enterprise of Europe in the New World of which the Catholic Church was an important part. The Friar, however, acts only as an aide to the organized imperialists Antonio (Prospero's brother and the usurper of his title) and Alonso (King of Naples and an accomplice in Prospero's exile). As Prospero recounts the story of his exile, we learn that he is keenly aware of why his two enemies plotted against him: "When they learned that through my studies and experiments I had managed to discover the exact location of these lands many had sought

for centuries, ...[they] hatched a scheme to steal my as-yet-unborn empire from me" (*A Tempest* 2.2).

History takes over *A Tempest* once the Inquisition exiles Prospero, and Antonio and Alonso take over Milan. As Prospero has foreseen, the Europeans set sail on a voyage of discovery, conquest and colonization: "My prophetic science had...already informed me that [Antonio and Alonso] would not be content with seizing my lands in Europe, and that their greed would win over their cowardice, that they would set out for those lands my genius had discovered" (*A Tempest* 2.2). Césaire, unlike Shakespeare, does not set Prospero off against Antonio and Alonso, but rather gives all the Europeans a common imperialistic drive which Prospero, the "discoverer" of the new lands, epitomizes.

It follows that Césaire historicizes Ariel and Caliban to correspond to the victims of European imperialism. Although his Ariel and Caliban are slaves, they react to their slavery quite differently. While both want their freedom from Prospero's rule, Ariel patiently waits for his master to release him, while Caliban constantly rebels against Prospero's authority, and even considers murder to get rid of him.

As I mentioned before, Césaire's slaves point to Rodó's Euro-centric Ariel and Fernández Retamar's "mestizo" Caliban. Césaire pushes their distinction

further to illustrate their different attitude towards their colonial experience:

ARIEL

Poor Caliban, you're doomed. You know that you aren't the stronger, you'll never be the stronger. What good will it do to struggle?

CALIBAN

And what about you? What good has your obedience done you, your Uncle Tom patience and your sucking up to him! It must be obvious to you that the man is growing more demanding and despotic.

ARIEL

I don't believe in violence.... No violence, no submission. Listen to me: Prospero is the one we've got to change. Disturb his serenity so that finally he can come to acknowledge his own injustice and put an end to it....I've often had this wonderful dream that one day Prospero, you and I, we would all three set out, like brothers, to build a great world.

CALIBAN

You don't understand anything about Prospero....He's a guy who only feels something when he's wiped someone out.... And you talk about brotherhood!

ARIEL

So what's left then? War? And you know when it comes to that, Prospero is unbeatable.

CALIBAN

Better death than humiliation and injustice.
(*A Tempest* 2.2)

The two slaves cannot--and history suggests they probably never will--agree on the way to overcome their oppression or their oppressor. In fact, Toumson, cued by Césaire, compares their speeches to the different points of view

advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X on how to liberate blacks in the United States.³ In their "native" dimension, Ariel represents the house slave, Caliban the field slave. Later, we shall see how their racial differences also signal their relationship with Prospero.

Although *A Tempest* centers mainly on the opposition of Caliban and Prospero, the interaction between the idealistic Ariel and the utilitarian Prospero interests Césaire as much as the relationship between the humanistic Ariel and the materialistic Caliban interested Rodó. Consider the exchange between master and servant after the wreck of Alonso's ship:

ARIEL

It was a real pity to see that great ship go down, so full of life.

PROSPERO

Oh, so you're upset, are you! It's always like that with intellectuals! So be it! What interests me is not your moods, but your deeds.
(*A Tempest* 1.2)

Césaire expands his illustration of their conflicting moral attitudes an act later, as they both watch the court trying to eat from Ariel's magical banquet:

PROSPERO

(invisible) Ariel, I don't like [Alonso's] refusing. Harass [the court] until they eat.

ARIEL

That's despotism. A while ago you made me snatch it away just when they were about to gobble it up, and now that they don't want it you are ready to force-feed them.

PROSPERO

Enough hairsplitting! My mood has changed!
They wrong me by not eating. They must be
made to eat out of my hand like chicks. That
is a sign of submission I insist they give me.

ARIEL

It's evil to play with their hunger as you do
with their anxieties and their hopes.
(*A Tempest* 2.2)

The suffering of others reminds Ariel of his own. The scene also offers Ariel one more chance to try to "change" his master by challenging the morality and logic of his orders.

Conversely, Prospero can dismiss Ariel's advice as intellectual inanity, even though he recognizes the latent danger for him in the mulatto's idealism, and is wary of it. By the end of the play, for example, Prospero responds to Ariel's exhilaration at having been freed with a cautious "All the same, you are not going to set my world on fire with your music, I trust!" (*A Tempest* 3.5). Ariel, however, lacks the drive and motivation to curb Prospero's will. In *A Tempest* what defines, shapes and resolves the colonial struggle is Caliban's relentless opposition to Prospero because, as Césaire explains, that is how Caliban helps synthesize the dialectic of history: "Caliban is...a rebel--the positive hero, in a Hegelian sense" (qtd. in Cohn 298).

Caliban's first word in the play, "Uhuru," evidences his total resistance to Prospero, for "Uhuru" is "the

Swahili term for freedom" (Nixon 572). Unlike Shakespeare's "born slave," Césaire's Caliban does not fear Prospero. He just bides his time, bearing his oppression because he knows that in a not so distant future he will get rid of Prospero forever. In the meantime, Caliban does not prove the most patient of slaves, and his verbal disputes with his master brilliantly exemplify the clash of their world views, as their first confrontation shows:

PROSPERO

You could at least thank me for having taught you to speak...You savage...a dumb animal, a beast I educated, trained, dragged up from the bestiality that sticks out all over you!

CALIBAN

That's not true. You didn't teach me a thing! Except to jabber in your own language so that I could understand your orders--chop the wood, wash the dishes, fish for food.... And as for your learning, did you ever impart any of *that* to me? No, you took care not to.... In the beginning [you were] all sweet talk: dear Caliban here, my little Caliban there.... Ingrate! I taught you the trees, fruits, birds, the seasons, and now you don't give a damn.... Once you have squeezed the juice from the orange, you toss the rind away!

(*A Tempest* 1.2)

Here, Prospero advocates the colonizer's belief that there was no culture or language in the island before his arrival (Gonzalo's "tabula rasa"). ~~He~~ was the one who has given structure, meaning and purpose to the island and its inhabitants, particularly Caliban. Caliban retorts that Prospero was and is blind to the natural structure and

meaning of the island because he has never bothered or cared to understand it. Prospero just uses the island's resources to his own advantage.

In the climax of the play, Caliban's hostility finally shatters Prospero's composure and exposes their deep antagonism:

PROSPERO

In spite of everything I'm fond of you,
Caliban. Come, let's make peace. We've lived
together for ten years and worked side by side!
Ten years count for something, after all! We've
ended up by becoming compatriots!

CALIBAN

You know very well that I'm not interested in
peace. I'm interested in being free! Free, you
hear?

....

You lied to me so much,
about the world, about yourself,
that you ended up by imposing on me
an image of myself:
underdeveloped, in your words, incompetent,
that's how you made me see myself!
And I loathe that image...and it's false!

....

PROSPERO

Poor Caliban!.... You know I will be stronger,
and stronger all the time. I pity you!

CALIBAN

And I hate you!

....

PROSPERO

Well, I hate you as well!
For it is you who have made me doubt myself for
the first time.

(*A Tempest* 3.5)

Prospero pities Caliban because he considers him an
inferior being or--Prospero's favorite term in Césaire's

play--"uncivilized". Caliban hates Prospero because the latter tries to impose his world view on him, and in this world view Caliban has no role but that of the ignorant, disloyal, lecherous, brute and stupid slave. And yet Caliban's hate, not Ariel's servility, is what makes Prospero insecure of his beliefs and actions.

In the end, Caliban has the last word ("FREEDOM HI-DAY!!") as he goes on to merge with his beloved Nature. Meanwhile, Prospero weakens in his cell, surrounded by the island's invading wilderness. The play's colonial conflict, however, remains unresolved because neither character completely overcomes the other. Césaire explains this open end with a historical example:

Caliban et [Prospero] font un couple indissociable. Pas plus que les Nègres et des Blancs ne peuvent se séparer en Amérique, Prospero ne peuvent se séparer de Caliban et c'est cela l'histoire. C'est le caractère indissoluble de cette union qui fait le drame.

[Caliban and [Prospero] are an indissoluble couple. Just as the blacks and the whites cannot separate from each other in the United States, so Prospero cannot separate himself from Caliban, and that is the way it is. It is the indissoluble nature of this union which makes the drama.]

(qtd. in Hale, *Les Écrits* 465; trans. mine)

A Tempest, then, seeks to resolve the colonial situation by reestablishing Caliban's dignity and equality to Prospero. Césaire implies that once true equality between the races is achieved, Prospero's importance and influence will inevitably diminish.

From European tempest to Caribbean hurricane.

One of the most well known facts of Césaire's life and work is that he coined and heralded the term "négritude" to counteract the alienation of colonized blacks throughout the world. The "négritude" movement gave displaced blacks an opportunity to learn and be proud of their African heritage as well as inspiring them about their destiny as a race. The exponents of "négritude" defined black culture by opposing it to

the Western values of rationalism, technology, Christianity, and individualism. They spelled not the control of nature by reason and science but a joyful participation in it; not its control by technology but a coexistence with other forms of life; not the Christianity of the missions but the celebration of very ancient pagan rites; not the praise of individual achievement but the fraternity and communal soul of the clan, the tribe, as well as the love of ancestors.

(Eshleman and Smith 7)

Similarly, in *A Tempest* the colonial conflict reflects the profound opposition between Caliban's African culture--as compounded by the "négritude" movement--and Prospero's Western European values. Prospero, for instance, thinks his "science" brings coherence and meaning to the world of the island:

I am...
the conductor of a boundless score--
this isle,
summoning voices--I alone--
and mingling them at my pleasure,
arranging out of confusion
one intellegible line.

...
This isle is mute without me.
(A Tempest 3.5)

Caliban, on the other hand, considers Prospero as "Anti-Nature" and knows that the natural world of the island will forsake Prospero for him when their final confrontation comes: "How can any animal--any natural animal...go against me the day I'm setting forth to conquer Prospero! Unimaginable!" (*A Tempest* 3.4).

In fact, Caliban's relationship with the isle's natural world surpasses "négritude"'s call to "coexist" with other lifeforms in a "joyful participation" in Nature; for Caliban nature is the spirit of Sycorax, his dead mother:

I respect the earth, because I know that it is
alive, and I know Sycorax is alive. Sycorax.
Mother.
Serpent! rain! lightning!
And I see thee everywhere!
In the eye of the stagnant pool into which I
gaze
unflinching,
through the rushes,
in the gesture made by the twisted root and its
awaiting thrust.
In the night, the all-seeing blinded night,
the nostril-less all-smelling night! ⁴
(A Tempest 1.2)

Similarly, Western and African values clash during Prospero's masque to celebrate the betrothal of Miranda and Ferdinand. The ceremony is similar to Shakespeare's, except that Eshu, the black god of mischief, abruptly interrupts Juno, Iris and Ceres' blessing by arriving

uninvited⁵. Eshu then decides to take over the celebration--which he correctly interprets as a fertility rite--by singing lewd songs and moving his body suggestively:

ESHU

Eshu est un joueur de tours,
sacrifiez à Eshu vingt chiens
afin qu'il ne vous joue des tours de cochon.

Eshu joue un tour à la Reine,
Sa majesté perd la tête, la voilà qui si lève
et dans la rue sort nue

Eshu joue un tour à la jeune mariée
et la voilà qui le jour du mariage
se trompe de lit et se retrouve
dans le lit d'un homme qui n'est pas le marié!

Eshu! La pierre qu'il a lancée hier
c'est aujourd'hui qu'elle tue l'oiseau
Du désordre il fait l'ordre, de l'ordre le
désordre!

Ah! Eshu est un mauvais plaisant.

Eshu n'est pas un tête à porter des farceaux,
c'est un gaillard à la tête pointue. Quand il
danse

il danse sans remuer les épaules.
Ah! Eshu est un luron joyeux!

Eshu est un joyeux luron,
de son pénis il frappe,
Il frappe
Il frappe...

[Eshu is a trickster,
sacrifice twenty dogs to Eshu
so that he won't play a dirty trick on you.

Eshu plays a trick on the Queen,
her majesty loses her head, see how
she gets up and goes out naked onto the street.

Eshu plays a trick on the young bride
and see how on her wedding day

she mistakes beds
and finds herself in bed with a man who is not
her husband!

Eshu! The stone he threw yesterday
kills a bird today.
Of disorder he makes order, of order disorder!
Ah! Eshu is a nasty trickster!

Eshu is not a guy who can carry heavy loads,
he is a strong fellow with a pointy head. When
he dances
he dances without moving the shoulders.
Ah! Eshu is a gay dog!

Eshu is a gay dog!
With his penis, he strikes
He strikes
He strikes...]
(A Tempest 3.3; trans. mine)

Eshu's obscene performance disgusts the haughty Roman goddesses, who immediately associate him with the "lower" Roman fertility god Priapus. In addition, Eshu's tricks upset and confuse Prospero so much that he puts an end to the supreme show of his "orchestrating" powers, the masque. Eshu's "black magic" has toppled Prospero's "white magic." Most importantly, Eshu's interlude foreshadows the grand finale of Prospero's and Caliban's conflict: Prospero, having forfeited his magic, will find himself lost in Caliban's world, and unable to control it.

As another representative of African culture, the war god Shango, although he influences the play's action, does not appear in person during the play, because Caliban worships him as his personal god. When Caliban sets out with Stephano and Trinculo to overcome Prospero, for instance, he invokes Shango in his battle song:

CALIBAN

Shango est un manier de bâton
 Il frappe et l'argent meurt!
 Il frappe et le mesonge meurt!
 Il frappe et le larcin meurt!
 Shango Shango ho!
 Shango est l'ameuteur de pluies
 Bien enveloppe il passe dans son manteau de feu
 Des pavés du ciel le sabot de son cheval
 tire des éclairs de feu.
 Shango est un grand cavalier
 Shango Shango ho!

[Shango knows how to carry a stick
 He strikes and money is wounded!
 He strikes and lies and illusion are wounded!
 He strikes and larceny is wounded!
 Shango Shango oh!
 Shango gathers up the rain
 Well wrapped, he passes by in his cloak of
fire,
 His horse's hoofs shoot lightning
 as they strike the pavement of the sky.
 Shango is a great horseman!
 Shango Shango oh!]
 (A *Tempest* 2.4; trans. mine)

Shango comes last in the list of entities that compose Caliban's community. He represents the male figure that Caliban would emulate while Nature/Sycorax is the mother figure Caliban loves and Ariel has become the brother figure against whom Caliban defines himself.

But *A Tempest* does more than fulfill the precepts of "négritude" by successfully counterbalancing the Western European worldview of Prospero and the court; it also opposes Shakespeare's rendition of the world of the *Tempest* as illusion.

Shakespeare's *Tempest* is a magic world that astonishes the members of Alonso's court with its fantastic spectacles and inhabitants. These spectacles (the tempest, Ariel's vanishing banquet for the court, Prospero's masque, etc.), however, have been staged by Prospero, and so question the experience (and existence) of all characters except him (and in the end even Prospero admits he may be a figment of our imagination, "such stuff as dreams are made on"). Therefore, even if an audience believes that Shakespeare's characters exist outside of Prospero's mind (or magic), it still cannot precisely define their nature or the nature of the island. These confusions create a truly "magical" world where illusion and reality cannot be told apart.

Césaire, in contrast, depicts a realistic world, the world of Caliban, a black Antillean man with a strong African background. Not only does this world exist in opposition to Western order, rationalism and individualism but it also stands on its own as an example of a Latin American cultural and aesthetic concept originally called "the marvelous in the real" and re-baptized later as "magical realism."⁶

The concept of the marvelous in the real ("lo real maravilloso") was developed by Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier in the prologue to his 1949 novel *The Kingdom of This World* (*El reino de este mundo*) with the purpose of

contesting European surrealism. Carpentier found surrealism a sterile construct of fantastic realities when compared to American marvellous reality: to European poets who "invoke spirits without believing in spells," he opposed the "deep ritualistic meaning" of American folklore. To the wild fabrications of the Old World he contrasted the fantastic lives of historical American figures such as Henri Christophe, the black cook turned King of Haiti, or "those who sought the Fountain of Eternal Youth, from the golden city of Manoa, to the first rebels or modern heroes of our wars of independence." Consequently, Carpentier insists, even the most accurate account of New World history will be "a chronicle of the marvelous in the real" (Carpentier, prologue to *The Kingdom of This World*).

Carpentier posited his thesis twenty years before the publication of *A Tempest*. The parallels between his notion of the marvellous in the real and Césaire's depiction of Caliban's world demonstrate that Prospero and Caliban's (colonial) opposition also reflects the cultural and aesthetic difference in the way Europeans and Latin Americans intuit the world. Thus, Prospero can only experience and command the island vicariously (mainly through Ariel), and his European artificial perception of Caliban's world cannot appropriate the marvelous reality of the island forever.

As I have shown, Caliban's perception of the world comes from his African heritage (idealized by "négritude"). The "magico-realistic" nature of his New World island, though, confirms his inherited beliefs by letting him partake in a marvelous reality. Caliban's permanent alliance with all lifeforms of the isle is one important example of the particularity of his experience. Nowhere, however, does Césaire illustrate more clearly the European lack of comprehension of Caliban's perception of the world than in the exchange between Stephano and Caliban as they set out to kill Prospero:

On entend le grondement de la mer.

STEPHANO

Dis-moi, brave sauvage, qu'est-ce que c'est, ce bruit? On dirait le grondement d'une bête traquée.

CALIBAN

Non pas traquée, mais tapie...Ne t'en fais pas, c'est ma copine.

STEPHANO

Tu as l'air bien discret sur tes fréquentations.

CALIBAN

Même qu'elle m'aide à respirer...C'est pourquoi je l'appelle une copine. De temps en temps, elle éternue et une goutte me tombe sur le front et me rafraîchit de son sel ou me bénit...

STEPHANO

Comprends pas. Tu ne serais pas saoul, des fois?

CALIBAN

Ben quoi! La houlante, la pas tellement patiente, la ruminante, qui brusquement se

réveille dans un tonnerre de Dieu et vous plaque au visage, la lançant des fins fonds de l'abysee, sa gifle de lessive hystérique! La mer, quoi!

STEPHANO

Étrange pays! Étrange baptême!

CALIBAN

Mais le plus beau, c'est encore le vent et ses musiques, le salace hoquet quand il farfouille les halliers, ou son triomphe, quand il passe brisant les arbres, avec dans sa barbe, les bribes de leurs gémissements.

STEPHANO

Ça! Ce monstre délire à plein tube...Trinculo, pas de chance, notre monstre bat la campagne!

[(We hear the roar of the sea)]

STEPHANO

Tell me, brave savage, what is that noise? It sounds like the roar of a hunted beast.

CALIBAN

Not hunted, but lurking...Don't worry, she's my pal.

STEPHANO

You are quite tight-lipped about the company you keep.

CALIBAN

Even so, she helps me breathe...That's why I call her a buddy. Every now and then she sneezes and a drop falls on my forehead and refreshes me with its salt, or blesses me...

STEPHANO

I don't get it. You wouldn't be drunk, would you?

CALIBAN

Well! She is that howling, somewhat impatient, brooding thing which suddenly reawakens and violently coats your face. She hurls her

washload [foam] hysterically from the depth of the abyss! The sea, that's what it is!

STEPHANO

Strange country! Strange baptism!

CALIBAN

But the most beautiful is the wind and his songs: his lewd hiccup when he rummages through the brushes, or his triumph when he passes smashing trees, with their moanings on his beard.

STEPHANO

Well I never! This monster is totally delirious...Trinculo, we are out of luck: our monster is rambling!

(A *Tempest* 3.4; trans. mine)

Stephano cannot understand Caliban's "ramblings." Prospero considers them "witchcraft," that is, proof positive of Caliban's evil nature. He therefore feels justified in oppressing Caliban: oppression keeps evil at bay.

Prospero dismisses Caliban's rites and beliefs as "witchcraft" mostly because, unlike his own "science," they are not contained in books. Yet he fears the confidence and rebelliousness this "witchcraft" gives his slave, because "par cette insubordination, c'est tout l'ordre du monde qu'il remet en cause [by this insubordination he is questioning the whole order of the world]" (A *Tempest* 3.3; trans. mine).

Ironically, the great white magician clearly owes his magic to the marvelous nature of the island and to the inextricable relations among its creatures. Still, Prospero can only tap indirectly into the isle's power

source, mostly through Ariel. When he releases his mulatto slave, he loses all his power over the island and even over Caliban.

On the whole, *A Tempest* succeeds in convincing us that its world of magic and illusion does not originate in Prospero's books--as would seem to be the case in Shakespeare's play--but from a wondrous reality that exists **without** Prospero. The illusion in *A Tempest*, then, is Prospero's "civilizing" enterprise, that European self-deception that Césaire insists can never take root in Caliban's island.

From comedy to psychodrama.

LE MENEUR DE JEU

Allons, Messieurs, revez-vous...A chacun son personnage et à chaque personnage son masque. Toi, Prospero? Pour-quoi pas? Il y a des volontés de puissance qui s'ignorent! Toi, Caliban? Tiens, tiens, c'est révélateur! Toi, Ariel! Je n'y vois aucun inconvénient.... Alors, choisissez...Mais il y en a un que je choisis: c'est toi! Tu comprends, c'est la Tempête. Il me faut une tempête à tout casser...Alors, il me faut un costaud pour faire le vent. Alors, c'est toi? D'accord!...Attention! C'est parti! Vents, soufflez! Pluie et éclairs, à volonté!

[MASTER OF CEREMONIES]

Come gentlemen, make yourselves into a dream. To each his character, to each character his mask. You want to be Prospero? Why not? He has dreams of power we do not even know about. You want Caliban? Well, well, that's revealing! And you, Ariel! I don't see any problem with that.... Well then, choose...But there is one part I'll pick myself: you! I know you know, it's the part of *The Tempest*. I need a

prodigious tempest...and so I need a strong guy
to do the Wind. So is it you?
Good!...Pay attention! Begin! Blow, winds! Rain
and lightning at will!]
(from the prologue to *A Tempest*; trans. mine)

For five centuries, Shakespeare's *Tempest* has been widely lauded as a universal, timeless play about reconciliation and forgiveness. According to this view, *The Tempest* is a magnificent spectacle coordinated by Prospero/Shakespeare, an illusion populated by fantastic spirits, demi-monsters and goddesses. On the other hand, New Historicist critics have shown that *The Tempest* has a colonial subtext which originally participated in the colonialist discourse of the Jacobean age. As the play passed from one century to the next, this colonial subtext was made to correspond more and more with the white man's official version of his colonization of America, Africa and Asia. In the nineteenth century, for instance, actors portraying Caliban slowly transformed him from demi-monster to a version of the Darwinian missing link, a primitive man without the trappings of civilization--and in dire need of them. By the twentieth century *The Tempest* had become so charged with imperialistic meaning that it inspired D.O. Mannoni to write his now infamous book on the co-dependency of colonizer and colonized, entitled *La Psychologie de la colonisation*. Mannoni's book in turn prompted Third World artists and critics to re-examine this last of Shakespeare's plays. The Césairean scholar

Gérard Durozoi summarizes their perspective concerning *The Tempest*:

Retrospectively, Shakespeare's play...appears as the expression of a particular ideology: that of the ethnocentric Occident, which conceives freedom only for its own use, and considers the struggle for (coercive) power its privilege.

(15; trans.mine)

By the time Césaire approaches *The Tempest*, the play has been reduced to an unilateral myth about the righteousness and advantages of European colonialism, and Césaire, as a poet and spokesperson of a colonized country, chooses to deconstruct the play to release Caliban's voice.

Since from the point of view of the colonized the comedic character of *The Tempest* minimalizes the impact of imperialistic oppression, Césaire makes his appropriation a therapeutic and analytical dramatization, a psychodrama. As the monologue by the Master of Ceremonies at the beginning of this section shows, the psychodrama begins with a ritualistic selection of masks (roles) by the performers. The ritual is given form and meaning by the Master of Ceremonies' opening words ("to each his character, and to each character his mask") which, Toumson notes, "contain two superimposed notions." First, the idea that a mask represents a character's fixed personality : "the roles [the mask] has codified repeat the classifications of the community. They are as much mythological or satirical as real social roles" (380;

trans. mine). In this sense, the mask functions as a disguise, a façade that conceals the performer. The words of the Master of Ceremonies, however, also imply that certain masks **correspond** to certain performers so, according to Toumson, "he who chooses a character, and therefore a mask, reveals his interior being, his underlying psychology. By the detour of illusion, the mask opens the ways to truth" (383; trans. mine).

Césaire utilizes the paradoxical nature of the mask to illustrate the complexity of role playing in the colonial situation. When concealing, masks signal stereotypes which will later be debunked by the events in the play. Prospero, for instance, perpetuates the stereotype of Caliban as "savage" by contemptuously calling him "an ugly ape," a "dumb animal" and a "beast" as soon as the slave walks on stage for the first time. Later in the play, we must temper our perception of Caliban as "savage" when he shows respect, love and a poetic sensibility towards the natural world of the island--the wind, the sea and even the smallest insect. In the end, when Caliban refuses to kill Prospero, he completely shatters the negative image imposed on him.

In the case of Prospero, Césaire clearly wishes to undermine the stereotype of the wise, forgiving, quasi-omnipotent venerable man. Césaire explained his need to

de-mythologize Prospero in an interview with Lucien

Attoun:

J'ai été frappé par le totalitarisme de Prospero....Je m'insurge lorsqu'on me dit que c'est l'homme du pardon. Ce qui est essentiel chez lui, c'est la volonté de puissance...

[I have been shocked by Prospero's totalitarianism....I revolt when they tell me that he is the man who forgives. His essence is his will to power...]

(Hale, *Les Écrits* 465, trans. mine)

In his last confrontation with Prospero, Caliban prophesies that his master's thirst for power is the addiction which will ultimately cause his downfall. Indeed, as the play ends, the feeble, powerless Prospero futilely fights the wilderness invading his cell, his mask of omnipotence and wisdom dropped as soon as he forfeits his magic.

If *A Tempest's* masks conceal, they also for the first time enable black performers to "carnivalize" their colonial selves--a role they have been playing in real life for five centuries. Black performers playacting in *A Tempest*, then, can experience a cathartic, if momentary, liberation from their colonized condition because unlike historically oppressed peoples, Caliban and Ariel have time, space and voices to protest their oppression--quite aggressively in the case of Caliban. Most importantly, having black actors play Prospero reveals that the colonizer's alleged superiority is only a mask and not

part of his essence. His role, therefore, can be taken up by anyone.

In conclusion, *A Tempest* provides the colonized peoples with the opportunity for playacting and watching (as an audience) their liberation from imperialism in hopes that they can later re-enact their emancipation in real life.

A Tempest as contemporary political discourse.

Car la révolution littéraire et humaine ressemblerait fort à une tempête au fond d'un encrier, si elle ne débouchait sur la révolution politique.
--Aimé Césaire.

Thomas A. Hale, Césaire's biographer, reports on Césaire's fortituous beginning in a political career that lasts to this day:

At the end of 1944, friends active in the local section of the French Communist party...invited [Césaire] to run on the party ticket in the municipal elections.... Before the war, the Martinican Communists had been able to garner only a few hundred votes in municipal elections, and thus it was more as a service to his friends than as a serious commitment to politics that Césaire offered his candidacy for a seat on the municipal council (and by the party's placement of his name at the top of the list, for the position of mayor). But in an astonishing upset, the Césaire list won a majority of seats in the May 27, 1945 election, and the next day the poet was formally elected mayor by his fellow councilors. After election as a cantonal **conseiller général** (October 7, 1945) and as one of Martinique's **députés** to the Première Assemblée Nationale Constituante (October 21, 1945), Césaire was sent to Paris

to participate in the formation of a new constitution of the Fourth Republic.

(Hale, "A Bio-bibliography" 6)

A decade later, Césaire left the Communist party and founded an independent socialist Martinican party, which he still leads, the *Partie Progressiste Martiniquaise* (P.P.M.). He has also maintained his post in the French legislature, uncontested for the past five decades.

During this time, Césaire has seen Martinique change from French colony to a "département," one of the 95 main administrative divisions of France, but he has also experienced how little that administrative change has meant to the standard of living of the Martinicans, or to their social standing with the mother country. Hence, Césaire's whole political life has been spent contending with the same myth he re-creates in *A Tempest*: that of the benevolent master (France/Prospero) and the faithful servant (Martinique/Ariel/Caliban). Space does not permit the acknowledgment Césaire deserves for his interventions on behalf of Martinique in the *Assemblée Nationale*, but some extracts of what Hale considers one of his best speeches to the House will suffice to illustrate the fight Césaire has put up for his island these last fifty years.

The context for this 1950 speech was an agreement for mutual military aid between the United States and France, the debate over which Césaire shrewdly turned into a discussion of the colonized condition of Martinique. As

Hale notes, Césaire's speech is highly dramatic not only because of its content, "but also because of the reaction of his colleagues, who attack Césaire for his lack of humility and recognition towards France" (*Les Écrits* 320).

Césaire begins by reminding the House that the military agreement not only involves France, but all the nations composing the French Union (of which Martinique is one). He complains that France is always ready to share with the Union "l'oeuvre de la mort et jamais d'oeuvres de la vie [the works of death but never those of life]." He gives the failure of the "départementalisation" in Martinique as an example:

Je parle ici au nom d'un pays [...] où on refuse [...] toutes les garanties liées à la fonction de Français [...] l'application des lois sur la sécurité sociale; où les écoles sont en ruines, les hôpitaux misérables. [...] Et voici qu'aujourd'hui nos Excellences acceptent d'en parler, mais c'est pour l'inclure dans un pacte qui signifie pour nos peuples la ruine et l'esclavage.

[I talk here in the name of a country...where all the guaranties connected to the duties of the French...and the application of laws on social security...are refused; where the schools are in ruins, the hospitals pitiful.... And here we find that today our Excellencies have agreed to talk, but only to include us in a pact that signifies ruin and slavery for our peoples.]

(qtd. in Hale, *Les Écrits* 320-321; trans. mine)

Hale reports how, when accused of exaggeration by his indignant colleagues, Césaire proceeded to describe at length how the French government had blocked every effort

to raise the standard of living in the French Union, closing the report with an impassionate accusation about the hypocrisy of the French government: "Nous demandons du pain et l'on nous offre des armes! [We demand bread and they offer us weapons!]" (*Les Écrits* 321; trans. mine).

But, as Hale notes, only the end of Césaire's tirade "wakens, in the most shocking way, the myth of the benevolent master/humble servant in [Césaire's] colleagues at Bourbon Palace":

A. Césaire: En verité, alors que, dans nos territoires, la misère, l'oppression, l'ignorance, la discrimination raciale sont de règle, alors que, de plus en plus, au mepris de la Constitution, vous vous ingéniez à faire de l'Union française non pas une union mais une prison de peuples...

(Exclamations à gauche, au centre et à droite.- Applaudissements à l'extrême-gauche).

Paul Caron: Vous Êtes bien content qu'il y ait l'Union française!

Marcel Poinboeuf: Que seriez-vous sans la France?

A. Césaire: Un homme à qui on n'aurait pas essayé de prendre sa liberté.

Paul Theetten: C'est ridicule!

Paul Caron: Vous êtes un insulteur de la patrie.

(À droite: Quelle ingratitude!)

Maurice Bayrou: Vous avez été bien hereux qu'on vous apprenne à lire!

A. Césaire: Ce ne'est pas vous, monsieur Bayrou, qui m'avez appris à lire, c'est grâce aux sacrifices des milliers et de milliers de Martiniquais qui ont saigné leurs veines pour

que leurs fils aient de l'instruction et pour qu'ils puissent les défendre un jour.

[A. Césaire: To tell the truth, while in our land misery, oppression, ignorance [and]racial discrimination are the rule, you [the French government] strive, more and more, in contempt of the Constitution, to make of the French Union not a union but a prison of the people... (Exclamations from the political left, center, and right.-Applause from the extreme left).

Paul Caron: You are/should be very happy that there is a French Union!

Marcel Poinboeuf: What would you be without France?

A. Césaire: A man from whom no one would have tried to take away his freedom.

Paul Theetten: This is ridiculous!

Paul Caron: You are insulting the motherland.

(The right: What ingratitude!)

Maurice Bayrou: You were very happy when you were taught how to read!

A.Césaire: It is not you, mister Bayrou, who have taught me to read. I did it thanks to the sacrifices of thousands and thousands of Martinicans who have bled their veins so that their children may have an education and so that their children will some day defend them].
(*Les Écrits* 321-322; trans.mine)

These exchanges seem to be taken verbatim from the only interaction between Miranda and Caliban in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*:

MIRANDA

When thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
With words that made them known. But thy vile
race,
Though thou didst learn, had in't which good
natures

Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
Deservedly confined into this rock, who hadst
Deserved more than a prison.

CALIBAN

You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language!

(1.2. 355-365)

As shocking as it is to see how little five hundred years have changed the colonial situation, this altercation in the Assemblée Nationale shows the profound and inextricable connection between *A Tempest* and France's contemporary political discourse and policies towards its former colonies.

At the same time, *A Tempest* owes much to the larger political picture offered by Marxism. In a 1949 discourse at Fort-de-France, Césaire connected his conversion to Communism to his experience as the colonized:

Je suis Communiste, parce que je sais tout ce que notre pays, tout ce que notre race ont souffert depuis l'origine, parce que je sais la traite, l'humiliation, l'imbécile préjugé, l'exploitation, la répression, et qu'aucune force au monde ne peut me faire oublier cela.

[I am a Communist because I know all that our country, all that our race has suffered from its beginnings, because I know of the slave trade, the humiliation, the idiotic prejudice, the exploitation, the repression, and there is no force in the world that can make me forget it.]

(Hale, *Les Écrits* 315; trans. mine)

Although Césaire broke with the Communist party in 1956, his transposition of Marxism to the realities of the Third World can be easily traced in *A Tempest*. The Europeans

(particularly Prospero, Gonzalo, Stephano and Trinculo), for example, represent the final form of capitalism--imperialism--which will inevitably, according to Marxist theory, be replaced by a new order after the rebellion by the colonized peoples (Caliban). Other instances, such as Prospero's abuse of his slaves' labor, Gonzalo's valuation of Caliban's island solely as a tourist spot, Stephano and Trinculo's agreement to exploit Caliban in a European side show, Caliban's rebelliousness and violence dignified by his manual labor, all make of *A Tempest* an instance of leftist political discourse as well as a discourse on colonialism.

* * *

C'est ainsi qu'en faisant de la bonne
littérature, nous ferons de la bonne
politique.
--Aimé Césaire.

For Césaire, writing is a political act. This holds true for all his works, starting with his long poem on Martinique, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (*Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*), where he gives the first poetic use to the term "négritude," a word which later became the ideological foundation of political parties in Africa and the New World.

The fact that the themes of an early work such as *Cahier* (1939) parallel those of the much later *A Tempest* also shows that the colonial condition which causes

Telle était la société coloniale: mieux qu'une hiérarchie, une ontologie: en haut, le blanc--l'être au sens plein de terme--en bas, le nègre sans personnalité juridique, un meuble; la chose,

autant dire le rien; mais entre ce tout et ce rien, un redoutable entre-deux: le mulâtre, l'homme de couleur libre. Bien pittoresque et sauvamment puéril, le tableau que donne Moreau de Saint-Méry 'de toutes les nuances produites par les diverses combinaisons du mélange des blancs avec les nègres':

D'un blanc et d'une negresse_____	un mulâtre
- mulâtresse_____	un quarteron
- quarteronne_____	un quarteron
- métisse_____	un métis
- mamelouque_____	un mamelouque
- quarteronnée_____	un quarteronné
- sang-mêlée_____	un sang-mêlé
- marabou_____	un sang-mêlé
- griffone_____	un quarteron
- sacatra_____	un quarteron

[Such was colonial society: more than a hierarchy, an ontology. On top, the white man--the being, in the full meaning of the term. At the bottom, the black man, with no legal rights, a piece of furniture, a thing; the same thing as saying *nothingness*. But in between being and nothingness, a formidable middleman: the mulatto, the free colored man. The table by Moreau de Saint-Méry describing 'all the nuances produced by the diverse combinations of mixture of whites and blacks' [is] quite picturesque and learnedly puerile:

From a white and a black_____	a mulatto
- mulatto_____	a quadroon
- quadroon_____	a quadroon
- half-breed_____	a half-breed
- mamelouque_____	a mamelouque
- quadroon_____	a quadroon
- half-caste_____	a half caste
- marabou_____	a half-caste
- griffone_____	a quadroon
- sacatra_____	a quadroon]

(*Oeuvres complètes* 41-42; trans. mine)⁸

Césaire uses the information in this table three ways in his play: first, he keeps the white man's ontological definition of society faithfully, but converts Caliban's nothingness into a positive liberating force; then, he fashions Prospero after de Saint-Mery, a man who takes pains to differentiate himself from his slaves, particularly Caliban; finally, he models Ariel according to the image clearly imposed by the table: the middleman, almost white but with no possibility for himself or his descendants of ever becoming white as long as there is one drop of black blood in him. Moreover, as Césaire remarks in his introduction to the table, the colonial mulatto becomes a **free** man, a development of some significance:

On se peut s'amuser de ce délire
classificateur; le problème qu'il posait n'en
demeurait pas moins un problème sociale grave:
savoir qu'il y a désormais dans sa société
coloniale une classe libre, aisée, bref une
bourgeoisie qui réclame...l'égalité des droits.

[This classifying fever could be amusing. The
problem it poses remains an equally serious
social problem: know that from now on in the
colonial society there is a well-to-do free
class; in short, a bourgeoisie that
claims...equal rights.]

(*Ouvres complètes* 42; trans. mine)

Ariel's difference is one of **class** as well as race. In the future, this same free mulatto class will considerably obstruct Touissant's slave rebellion in Haiti; it will also be the group with whom young Césaire refuses to associate in Paris because its aim is the "perfect assimilation in French society" (Arnold 11). We have seen

that Caliban and Ariel represent different types of blacks in the United States at the time the play was written. Both characters are also construed from Antillean models: Caliban from heroic rebels such as Touissant Louverture, Ariel from the mulatto Martinican/Caribbean middle class. This context explains why, although Ariel's compromises appear to be an option to the hatred between Prospero and Caliban, in reality the mulatto is just confirming the status quo.

The bottom line is that Césaire's Ariel sees both the advantage of going along with the master and the danger of forsaking that advantage by casting his lot with Caliban's rebellion. He is the Europeanized Ariel Fernández Retamar denounces in "Caliban." Césaire's Caliban justly calls him an "Uncle Tom" who "sucks up" to Prospero by "carrying [his] great ideas and master plans" (which would have seemed a rather harsh judgment if Ariel were **only** to represent the position of Martin Luther King, Jr.).

In the end, we should consider *A Tempest* a political discourse also because it is social drama. Consider the following outline Césaire made of the social and political purposes of his dramatic writing:

Mon théâtre...est surtout politique parce que les problèmes majeurs en Afrique sont des problèmes politiques. J'aimerais réactualiser la culture noire pour en assumer la permanence, pour qu'elle devienne une culture qui contribuerait à l'édification d'un ordre

nouveau, d'un ordre révolutionnaire où la personnalité africaine pourrait s'épanouir...je veux un théâtre actuel en prise directe sur nos problèmes. Le drame doit être une prise de conscience, il est un 'donner à penser'.

[My drama...is above all political because the biggest problems in Africa are political problems. I would love to update the black culture to ensure its permanance, so it may become a culture which will contribute to the building of a new order, of a revolutionary order where the African character can bloom...I want a topical theater in direct contact with our problems. Drama must be awareness; it should 'make you think.']

(qtd. in Traoré 3; trans. mine)

A Tempest comes last in a series of four plays examining the struggle of blacks for liberation from colonial oppression.⁹ Césaire's other plays strive to achieve epic status--usually at the expense of historical accuracy. This almost mythical depiction of the social and political struggle of blacks through history has had its supporters and detractors. Arnold reports on two typical examples of such antithetical criticism: on the one hand, the reticent praise of West Indian scholar Frederick Ivor Case, who disapproves of Césaire's "allegorical plays" and calls for plays depicting real events of the ongoing "Antillean tragedy"; on the other hand, the commendation of M.a M. Ngal, who sees Césaire's recurrent plots and characters as a warning to the new African countries about making the same mistakes of past black leaders (Arnold 270-271).

Césaire himself firmly believes that his drama speaks to contemporary local audiences, even if its

subject matter centers on legendary rebellious black leaders enacting past struggles. For Césaire, drama becomes "awareness" ("une prise de conscience") when it discusses not the particular moment but the universality of the particular moment. Consider Césaire's definition of theater during a debate on African drama:

Je suis persuadé que l'oeuvre d'art est universelle. L'affaire congolaise n'intéresse pas que les Congolais. Je persiste à croire que tout ce qui se passe en Afrique doit intéresser les habitants des pays occidentaux. Je ne m'adresse pas qu'à une catégorie d'hommes, et le théâtre, s'il un bon théâtre, naît dans le particulier, l'individuel, mais aboutit inévitablement à l'universel.

[I am convinced that the work of art is universal. The Congolese affair is not only of interest to the Congolese. I firmly believe that all that happens in Africa should interest the people of Western countries. I do not address only one type of people, and the theater, if it is good theater is born of the particular, the topical, but inevitably leads to the universal.]

(qtd. in Toumson 312; trans. mine)

Thus, Caliban's prefiguration in Césaire's earlier plays reveals the most important feature of *A Tempest*, namely, that Césaire's play may have been conceived as a response to the imperialistic readings of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, but became part of Césaire's personal, lifelong testimony on colonial oppression. As long as critics persist in treating *A Tempest* primarily in literary terms, as an "offshoot" of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, thereby neglecting its participation in a living struggle with colonialism,

they will have missed the play's essence. As part of "le drame des nègres dans le monde moderne"--what Césaire called his theatre--*A Tempest* is the dramatization of the reality of Césaire's experience as a colonized black and as a leader and spokesperson for colonized blacks.

In brief, since during colonization blacks suffered an identity crisis, *A Tempest* seeks to rescue and re-create their lost and denigrated identity to effect a communal purgation. Also, as political discourse, *A Tempest* aims to awaken oppressors and oppressed to the injustice and misery caused by colonialism. Most importantly, as a representative vital record of Césaire's subjective experience, it speaks to all who have experienced tyranny.

Chapter Five: George Lamming.

Prospero's legacy.

George Lamming's *Water With Berries* follows the mishaps of three self-exiled West Indian artists from the fictional island of San Cristobal who seek refuge in England.¹ As Lamming explained in an interview, their journey was calculated to reverse the "discovery" voyages of Western Europe, as represented by Prospero's exile to an apparently New World island in Shakespeare's *Tempest*:

In Shakespeare's *Tempest*, it was Prospero in the role of visitor to Caliban's island. In *Water With Berries*, [the journey is] reversed. The three characters really represent three aspects of Caliban making his journey to Prospero's ancestral home--a journey which was at the beginning, a logical kind of development because of the relationship to Prospero's language.²
(Kent 89)

The allusion does not end here: in fact, *Water With Berries* is an allegorical inversion of *The Tempest* with its main characters exploded and fragmented to indicate a shift from the colonial situation created by Prospero in *The Tempest*'s island to its consequences in the post-colonial world. Accordingly, *Water With Berries* traces the stories of the inheritors of Caliban's curse on Prospero for his betrayal of their friendship, a betrayal suggested by the novel's title, taken from *The Tempest* 1.2.330-344 and interpreted by Lamming as follows:

committed by the colonizers, the ex-plantation owner recoils from the black man:

That experiment in ruling over your kind. It was a curse. The wealth it fetched was a curse. The power it brought was a curse.... A curse I tell you. A curse! And it will come back to plague my race until one of us dies. That curse will always come back.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 229)

The curse of Caliban will touch any who receive the benefits of Prospero's colonial experiment--in the case of *Water With Berries*, Prospero's brother, Prospero's wife and her daughter. At the same time, Prospero's betrayal has left the descendants of Caliban forever enslaved: they do not own their land, their culture or even their language. Thus, *Water With Berries* also records several attempts to sever the original bond that enslaved Caliban.

Since Lamming purposely confused plot and character so that *Water With Berries* would seem a nightmarish version of *The Tempest*, a brief summary of the novel's plot will clarify its relation to Shakespeare's play:

The novel revolves around Teeton, who has escaped from prison in his native island, San Cristobal, and is preparing to go back to help start a revolution. As his departure date comes closer, he learns that his wife, Randa, has committed suicide back on the island and he purges his sorrow by confiding in an unidentified woman on a deserted heath. Meanwhile, Nicole, the wife of his friend Roger, commits suicide in the room Teeton rents.

The Old Dowager, his landlady, tries to protect him from the police by taking him to an almost deserted island in the Orkneys. There he learns that the mysterious woman on the heath (Myra) is the Old Dowager's daughter, and is almost killed by the Old Dowager's lover (Fernando), who in turn is killed by her. Finally, Teeton, pressed for time to return to his country, kills the Old Dowager and takes Fernando's boat to begin his new journey. The American edition has the following ending omitted: Teeton is caught by the police and accused of murder. The novel ends as his trial is about to begin.⁴

A secondary plot involves Roger, Derek and Nicole, friends of Teeton. Roger wants Nicole to have an abortion; he believes her baby is not his. Derek does not believe in Nicole's infidelity, but arranges an abortion. Nicole, in despair, commits suicide. The Old Dowager and Teeton bury her under a dead tree trunk in the Old Dowager's yard. Roger goes insane at her disappearance and starts burning places down--first, his boarding house, then the Mona, a nearby pub. The police arrest him. Derek, distressed and full of guilt at his part in the calamities, bursts into an uncontrollable rage which ends in his rape of the star of the production in which he has a small part.

"Here you sty me/ In this hard rock."

In *Water With Berries*, Lamming fragments Caliban into three separate West Indian writers who have journeyed

to England from their native island, San Cristobal. This split illustrates the different ways colonialism affects those colonized.

Roger Capildeo, a colonial whose family came from India to the West Indies, has identified so closely with the colonizer's affirmation of the need for racial purity that he lives in permanent schizophrenic horror of his "mixed" background. Because Roger has been taught to hate himself as impure, he is incapable of acknowledging his racially mixed child as his.⁵ As Lamming says, "What he [Roger] has against the business of the child, which is not very different from what he had against the island where he was born, is a horror of the half-caste, of the impure" (Kent 93). Roger's fears are also expressed in his mistrust and lack of connection to San Cristobal:

Roger could never recognize any links between him and San Cristobal. It seemed that history had amputated his root from some other human soil, and deposited him, by chance, in a region of time which was called an island. He had never really experienced the island as a place, a society of people.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 70)

Roger's repudiation of his cultural background also stems from a sense of inferiority: "It was a kind of embarrassment for Roger that the island could not say 'before the birth of Christ' and go on and trace its memory forward to his own time" (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 70). Like the colonizer, he fails to see the inner

coherence and beauty in the island's nature: "He had never heard any music stir in his hands when he climbed the rocks in the Cockpit country. There was only sound; a fury of noise conferred on the landscape from outside"

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 70). He also feels repelled by the island's hybrid culture, which poses a threatening alternative to white "purity":

He had grown afraid of the landscape, afraid of the sudden, early descent of the nights; the quality of the darkness which seemed to be secreted at the heart of daylight. Everyone seemed to take a mad delight in celebrating the impure; so that he inherited this horror of impurity. He had always wanted to get away; to be gone from the chaos of his childhood.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 70)

To ensure his complete detachment from the colonial situation, Roger marries a pure white American, Nicole, a total foreigner to both England and the Caribbean. Other Caribbean colonials see Nicole as the "trophy" wife for the colored Roger: "Not a trace of nigger in her blood. Absolute, pure white," says Teeton of her (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 94).

Even if Roger is not aware of how colonial indoctrination has made him hate himself, his sense of the unfairness of his colonial condition leads him to bouts of rage such as the one he has during a reception for colonial artists in London:

[Roger] was declaring war on the furniture. He had struck out as though he were going to smash every face; was turning the wine bowls into

sewerage canals. Now he would threaten to rape every royal virgin to celebrate the martyrdom of his kind. He had become a poor, stunted plebeian soul whose tongue had got all its vowel sounds wrong. Roger had become a blabbering curse, ranting until his memory ran short of crimes committed against his kind.
(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 113)

Roger's anger, of course, is the rage of Caliban the savage, the physical manifestation of Shakespeare's monster's curses on Prospero and Miranda. His connection to the white Nicole abates much of his anger until the consequences of their union--a racially mixed child--pushes him to destructive violence. Interestingly, Roger's savage anger leads him to commit arson, the revolted slave's "foremost weapon" against his oppressor throughout Caribbean history (Cudjoe 23).⁶

Derek, also from San Cristobal, experiences colonialism more subtly than his friend Roger. An orphan, he was raised by the pastors of the Saragasso Chapel, who in their religious and civilizing mission taught Derek that honesty is always the best policy (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 72). During the years he helped the pastors perform the liturgy, Derek discovered that drama could help him escape from reality. For the rest of his life Derek plays a corpse, literally on stage and symbolically offstage, negating his anger at the "origin of his oppressive failure," his brainwashing by the church. Fittingly, the other role Derek has played with success is

Othello, whom his friend Teeton uncovers as the perfect literary version of Derek's self-negation:

Teeton knew the Moor would come to grief. There was only one explanation for his sudden collapse into a murderous end. He had always been insecure, a hired foreigner among those men who accepted his command. They weren't fooled by his proof of bravery, the imperturbable eye in battle, the incredible armour of calm which he wore at the height of crisis...Behind the granite countenance there was a squalid cesspool of insecurities. Something had been corroding inside the Moor.
(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 134)

Like the Moor, Derek "collapses into a murderous end" once he discovers the lie he has been living and the destruction his false righteousness has caused:

His conviction grew that he was the cause of Roger's downfall.... It was his fraudulent stewardship of other people's lives which had brought such appalling disaster on everyone... He cursed the origin of his oppressive failure. He was piling obscenities on the pastor's virtues, on the ignorant chapel's exhortation to be and to come and to keep always clean. There was gall and brimstone in this blasphemy. And in this feverish moment of denigration he started to experience a strange relief. He was in control again. He could feel an awesome power of contempt reign over him and his surroundings.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 240).

As in Roger's case, Derek is trapped by the colonizer's creed of "purity," this time the pastors' purity of motive.

Derek's guilt and shame at his "fraudulent stewardship" unleashes an "unholy wrath" that culminates in his arson-like rape of the heroine of *A Summer's Error*

in Albion, where he once again plays a corpse. In *Water With Berries*, rape becomes an empowering instrument of revenge for the colonized against his oppressor; in Derek's case, it is a negation of the lie he has lived all his life, of the innocent, pure existence represented in the setting of *A Summer's Error in Albion*:

[Derek] was groping through the thicket of his tramp's pocket's for something; anything that might come to his aid; anything that would **burn and explode** this cauldron of a summer park with its artifice of nature on the run, and the girl, graceful as the swans that watch her wade leisurely through the summer air.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 241; emphasis mine)

Most importantly, Derek's "cannibal rage" brings him out of his anonymity as an actor and a man even if it also leads to "so uniquely brutal an assault" of a seemingly innocent--since no one is completely innocent--girl. Unlike Roger's self destruction, Derek's rebellion brings some release from his deadly bond.

In the case of Teeton, the third fragment of Lamming's *Caliban*, the colonial condition comes in the form of a cordial and respectful relationship with his white landlady, the allegorical Old Dowager, widow of a Mr. Gore-Brittain. In her essay on *Water With Berries*, Sandra Pouchet Paquet identifies Teeton and the Old Dowager's co-dependency with what Lamming calls "[Prospero's] gift in its most destructive form" because it is "the worst form of colonisation: colonisation

through a process of affection." In other words, Teeton has been "thoroughly tamed and domesticated" by the Old Dowager (*The Novels of George Lamming* 84-88). Teeton and the Old Dowager genuinely believe in their affection towards each other. Unfortunately, their love is based on superficial understandings and has grown through habit and routine. Lamming equates their relationship with a "private game": "their friendship had achieved the force and delicacy of a secret. It was never stated; and no strangers shared it" (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 38). At an allegorical level, their connection represents Prospero's admission of responsibility for Caliban at the end of *The Tempest* ("this thing of darkness I/ Acknowledge mine"). It also symbolizes the colonizer's desire to rejuvenate its decaying culture in an unspoiled tropical paradise.⁷ Thus, it does not come as a surprise that their alliance explodes when the circumstances change and force them to drop their secret game.

Lamming introduces us to Teeton when he has decided to go back to his native San Cristobal, but has not informed the Old Dowager about his decision yet, so that we can understand his misgivings and anguish that "his departure would strike like an act of desertion" during the rest of the novel (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 39). By a series of coincidences, Teeton does not get a chance to communicate his plans to the Old Dowager until after she

finds Nicole's body in his room and they escape from the law to a remote island in the North Sea where she retreats once a year. At this point, Teeton is worried that his decision to depart may seem connected somehow to Nicole's death, but he also realizes that the more he stays, the more he owes to the Old Dowager and the deeper his betrayal of their unspoken contract (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 199-200). However, once he tells her, her pained silence makes him feel so ashamed that he ends up being angry at himself and at her for feeling so:

He was ashamed, felt sunk in shame. And it seemed to him, in the extreme lucidity of the moment, that this shame was an atmosphere in which he had always lived. It was as though this moment, made sharp and frightful as knives by the Old Dowager's absence of sound, was pure in its brutality, pure in the menace which reflected this shame which had been with him always. From the earliest, invisible fungus of birth, it had been soil to his loins; pulse to his heart; vein and artery to the miraculous flow of his blood: this shame that now looked up at him from under the veil of his skin. This shame which now warned him that it could be the most terrible chemistry of human action: hidden and destructive.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 205)

Teeton slowly recognizes his colonial condition in this deep-seated shame at his disloyalty to Prospero's dowager. To his distress, he falls even deeper into the Old Dowager's debt when she kills her lover, Fernando, to save Teeton from being murdered (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 230). At this point, Teeton determines he must have his freedom at all costs, so he offers to find the Old

Dowager's long-lost daughter, Myra (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 233-234). But she no longer trusts him, painfully realizing she has never really known him:

She discovered some animal treachery in his secretive ways. She saw the ancestral beast which possessed his kind, a miracle of cunning and deceit, forever in hiding, dark and dangerous as the night.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 234)

Now it is Caliban's turn to betray the trust given to him. Interestingly, Prospero's dowager interprets this betrayal as a natural consequence of Caliban/Teeton's nature. Thus, the Old Dowager re-invents Teeton in the role of the treacherous New World native.

Teeton has no other choice but to kill the Old Dowager and burn her body to liberate himself and her from her sorrows: "He had burnt her free; burnt her losses; burnt her husband; burnt her lover; he was burning her into eternity" (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 247).

Symbolically, her incineration releases **him** from the psychic experience of the colonial bond:

He had lost his taste for safety. It was an instinct that had now gone dead; a loss of appetite. It wouldn't come his way again; the need to be safe; the normal taste for safety. Gone, it had gone down with the Old Dowager's corpse.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 248)

Teeton now is "ready to move," ready to confront Prospero in San Cristobal or in Prospero's own law courts. Most importantly, now that Teeton has "lost his taste for

safety," he acquires the inner "steel" calmness of a truly free man.

The other victims of colonialism.

Colonization...dehumanizes even the most civilized man;...colonial activity, colonial enterprise, colonial conquest, which is based on contempt for the native and justified by that contempt, inevitably tends to change him who undertakes it; ...the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal.

--Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*.

In *Water With Berries*, being female equals being a victim, mostly of male oppression: Nicole is calumniated by her own husband as an adulteress, and when faced with a forced abortion, commits suicide. Randa first prostitutes herself to save Teeton's life, and later commits suicide because he will not forgive her. Myra is infected with syphilis when gang-raped by her father's servants and his hounds. The Old Dowager, after of years of abuse by her husband, is finally murdered by Teeton in the very secret island in which she intended to hide him from the police.

The viciousness of female victimization provides *Water With Berries* with its most vivid illustrations of the ghastly consequences of colonization. Nicole's suicide is caused by Roger's indoctrinated horror of racial impurity; Randa is abandoned by Teeton for becoming the colonizer's mistress.⁸ And Myra's brutal rape is an ironic

outcome of her (alleged) father's colonial experiment, since he was the one who started the practice of bestiality on his estate. Fernando explains this horrible irony, for he was both a witness of his brother's monstrous rule and his daughter's rape:

I should have saved her before that black breed of scorpions seized the chance to crawl over her.... How they took her body, like cannibals feeding on some carcass they had never hoped, never dreamed they might ever taste. God, how they brutalised her beauty. For she was that: beautiful; an absolute beauty until they set the hounds upon her....The very creatures which had been her fondest pets. Those monsters stirred up the animals' lust for her; and let them loose over her body. **Just as they had seen their master do with some of them.**

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 228, emphasis mine)

The tone of racial repulsion is Fernando's. Myra's recollection of the rape does not focus on its perpetrators--or their race--but on their actions, which she equates to an immense bonfire "sizzling and spraying everything with heat":

I could only see the flames...like a million tongues licking and sucking up the night. That's how it was. They'd made a bonfire to celebrate their rape of me. Right there on the open field, with the flames sizzling and spraying everything with heat. God! It was so hot. I'd never known such heat. And soon I couldn't tell any longer which was worse. That fire screaming and crackling about my ears, or the terrible pounding that started up inside me.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 150)

Myra's rape is an unequivocal arson of Prospero's hopes for the future. By raping her, the slaves burn the promise of beauty and abundance of *The Tempest's* Miranda, who Caliban reports is a "nonpareil" capable of giving birth to "brave brood" (3.2. 96-101). In contrast, Myra contracts syphilis, which leaves her body "a barren grave" and makes sexual intercourse with her deadly. Thus, her constant prostitution on the unnamed London heath spreads Prospero's degeneration to his own people.

But Prospero/Gore-Brittain's perverted sexual practices do not start on his remote estate. The Old Dowager reveals that throughout her married life "the only pleasure [her] husband would allow himself" was to make her lie inside an open coffin for hours while he watched over her (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 181-182). And though he obviously neglected his marital duties, he nevertheless left her and took away her daughter out of "revenge and spite" for her affair with his brother Fernando. To add to this lifetime of spousal abuse, the Old Dowager is forced to kill her lover of many years, Fernando, to save Teeton's life, only to learn that Teeton is going to abandon her forever (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 226). In the end, Lamming chooses to depict her murder as a merciful act on Teeton's part, who thus releases her from all her life's sorrows.

On an allegorical level, these victimizations constitute the second necessary step Roger, Derek and Teeton take towards their decolonization after they journey into self-exile. The women represent various ties that the three men have with their colonial past and present which must be overcome: Derek rapes the heroine of *A Summer's Error in Albion* to debase himself and so negate the creed of purity and innocence upheld by the pastors of the Saragasso chapel, while Nicole's suicide forces Roger to confront his colonial reality without the safety net of a "pure" association. Similarly, Randa's suicide clears Teeton from his constant feeling of guilt at having escaped San Cristobal while so many of his comrades remain imprisoned. This guilt at having betrayed his friends, which Teeton has to associate with Randa because she was the means of his escape, had paralyzed him during his seven-year stay in England.

Perhaps the two most important--and troubling--instances where the victimization of women becomes a necessary step for male liberation are Myra's rape and the Old Dowager's murder. Myra's rape is a diachronic representation of the colonial myth alluded to in Caliban's answer to Prospero's accusation of attempted rape in *The Tempest*:

O ho, O ho! Would't had been done!
 Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else
 This isle with Calibans.
 (1.2. 349-351)

The colonizer's myth here is that all slaves want to possess the colonizer's women, be it by force or consent. Myra's rape, then, fulfills the colonizer's accusation while being justified as the slaves' revenge for the horrors they have suffered at their oppressor/Gore-Brittain's hands.⁹ Thus, Myra's story becomes a horrifying but fascinating account for the colonial Teeton as it climaxes in her assault by her hounds:

They [the servant and his friends] would rest and return, giving the interval over to the animals: Father's two hounds. It's as though they had trained the animals for this moment, put them through daily practice in this form of intercourse. They gave the animals the same privilege. Until I couldn't tell which body was the man's and which belonged to the beasts.

'Please, please, please!'

It was the only word Teeton seemed able to remember. He had heard enough; and yet there seemed no end to his curiosity. He experienced a violent conflict of tendencies. He wanted to hear. But he wanted to relieve her from talking.

...

'The servant and his friends!' Teeton began to shout. He was tortured by regret and guilt for what he had heard. For a moment he felt as though ~~he~~ had been the agent of these barbarities.

(Lanning, *Water With Berries* 150-15, emphasis mine)

As an expression of rebellion by Teeton's own Calibanistic alter egos in that faraway estate, Myra's rape becomes for Teeton a satisfying wish-fulfillment. As a show of the violence done to the innocent, what these men have done to

Myra to get back at her father makes Teeton feel morally shocked and deeply regretful.¹⁰

Myra's rape shows Teeton that rebellion against the oppressor is possible. It also shows him rebellion will inevitably be violent to answer to the violence of the colonizer. Most troublingly, it implies that--in a development of Aimé Césaire's thesis that colonization brutalizes the colonizer--Caliban will replicate Prospero's brutal teachings. On the other hand, Myra's rape evens out the differences between the novel's fictional fragments of Caliban and Miranda: they both have been deprived of a wholesome life by Prospero's experiment and Caliban's subsequent curse. At this level, they are equal as victims of colonialism.

Teeton's murder of the Old Dowager proves to be an even more cathartic experience: on one level it obviously releases him from "the worst form of colonisation: colonisation through a process of affection" that he had been suffering for seven years in his role of favorite--and only--tenant of the Old Dowager. On another level, the murder liberates Teeton's primal instincts, which he has repressed maybe all his life. Consider Lamming's description of Teeton's thoughts and feelings after he has killed the Old Dowager:

It was over now.
He was crouching near the last ridge of
heather, a crab among rocks. He was moving on
claws. He could hear his hands scraping through

the dark. His fists were smashing through the crust of the night.... He was coming up, sucking the air; coming slowly forward from the furnace of the Old Dowager's grave.... He had lost his taste for safety. It was an instinct that had now gone dead; a permanent loss of appetite. It wouldn't come his way again; the need to be safe; the normal taste for safety. Gone, it had gone down with the Old Dowager's corpse.... His claws now carried him out of these rocks.... His claws would push him up; stand him erect. The altitude began to make him dizzy. It couldn't be otherwise. But it didn't influence his balance now; couldn't touch the savage lack of taste for safety.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 246-248)

Teeton now embodies Shakespeare's "savage and deformed slave." Instead of signaling his degeneration, Teeton's "Calibanization" makes him fearless and guiltless. He is prepared for any ruthless action against the colonizer.

Lamming seems to have two reasons to consider the victimization of women a necessary step for the colonized men to emerge from their oppressed condition. First, Lamming portrays the women's protective actions neutralizing Caliban's rage. In this sense, the novel's women unintentionally perpetuate Caliban's bond with Prospero and so echo Prospero's helper, Ariel. The airy spirit, for instance, becomes a metaphor for the missing Nicole in Roger's mind:

Any moment Nicole would arrive, walk out of the night, graceful and forgivable, an Ariel of mischief; apologising for carrying these practical jokes.... But it would be the end of her mischief. Freed from these tastes for experience, she was now ready to resume her

calling; to make him happy, to teach him how to love her.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 216)

Teeton and the Old Dowager bury her body under a tree trunk, a burial befitting her as Ariel, who--Prospero tells us--was imprisoned in a "cloven pine" by Caliban's mother, the witch Sycorax.

For the men to become independent, they must overcome Ariel's protection, for although the airy spirit means good, he still is working in Prospero's interest and not Caliban's. Caliban must renounce Prospero's gift even if it comes packaged in Ariel's affectionate help.

Simultaneously, Lamming uses the female characters in the novel to reinterpret Miranda's role in *The Tempest's* dynamic of colonialism: "Miranda is the innocent half of Caliban; Caliban is the possible deformity which Miranda, at the age of experiment, might become" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 15). The relationship here is that of the anima (Miranda) to the shadow (Caliban), an interpretation supported by psychoanalytical studies of *The Tempest*.¹¹ As anima to the novel's male characters, the women balance the men's Calibanic shadow. But the shadow needs to be released for the men to rebel against oppression. Therefore, in their exertion to find freedom, the men destroy their feminine side and become relentless savage forces seeking revenge for the torture the oppressor has made them suffer. Most importantly,

Lamming's reinterpretation makes his female characters doubly victimized: as Caliban's partners, they are also the object of Prospero's colonial experiment; as Prospero's offspring, they must suffer Caliban's furious retaliation for Prospero's wrongdoings.

Randa and Myra represent different aspects of Miranda, in Lamming's interpretation, Caliban/Teeton's soulmate and "[Prospero's] own creation, the measure of his probable mismanagement" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 15). Caliban/Teeton encounters both Randa and Myra while he is in a purgatorial state. Randa he met years before during a Ceremony of Souls; Myra he meets in a solitary heath in the middle of a dark night, so he is never able to see her. He has just learned of Randa's suicide, and is remembering and mourning. The heath becomes a crossroads where Randa and Myra become one soul, a soul with whom Caliban/Teeton has to make peace to be able to continue his life. As a result, Myra's story of her rape becomes the purgatory and the catharsis necessary for Caliban/Teeton to become the architect of his own future.¹²

The Old Dowager is the most complex of all the female characters in the novel because she mixes features of both Ariel and Miranda with the fact that she is--allegorically at least--Prospero's wife, the absent mother of Miranda.¹³ As the dowager of Gore-Brittain she is the

main inheritor of an imperialistic culture which bases its conquests on bloodshed. Her most outstanding traits, as seen by Teeton, are those of a colonial master and so presumably also inherited from her husband:

There was a pride of ownership in her eyes as she watched over the obedience of her plants. That's how he [Teeton] saw her now; how he would probably remember her always. Her instinct for authority would survive long after her power had become extinct. The habits of command had always ruled her blood.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 39)

Thus, when the Old Dowager's "instinct for authority" takes over by the end of the novel, Teeton has to choose between killing her or submitting to her wishes.

On first consideration, these wishes seem disinterested enough: the Old Dowager wants Teeton to stay in the lonely North Sea island for his "protection." Her self-interest only becomes obvious when she acknowledges that Teeton reminds her so much of her late husband (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 187). Teeton becomes convinced that continuing their relationship bars him from returning to San Cristobal, and that his failure to return would be "the highest point of danger, in this moment-- and, perhaps, for all time" (Lamming, *Water With Berries* 196). He ~~has~~ to kill her to be free. The Old Dowager's murder also signals the defeat of the perversion and violence brought by "Prospero's spirit," and the possibility of a new reality for Caliban/Teeton. The

novel's open end leaves Caliban's decolonization a future hope.

Historical encounters and magic rituals.

In the republic of Haiti there is a Ceremony of Souls at which all the celebrants are relatives of the dead who return for this occasion to give some report on their previous relations with the living. The dead are supposed to be in a purgatorial state of Water, and it is necessary for them to have this dialogue with the living before they can be released into their final eternity. The living, on the other hand, need to meet the dead again in order to discover if there is any need for forgiveness. This dialogue takes place through the medium of the priest or *Houngan*.... It is not important to believe the actual details of the ceremony. What is important is its symbolic drama, the drama of redemption, the drama of returning, the drama of cleansing for a commitment towards the future.

--George Lamming, "The West Indian People."

In the introduction to her book on Lamming's novels, Sandra Pouchet Paquet postulates that the rebellion of Caliban's descendants against Prospero's colonial legacy "is balanced in [*Water With Berries*] by the equally important theme of reconciliation in the Ceremony of Souls which Teeton describes to Myra in the heath," where the ceremony "offers the possibility of a meaningful reconciliation of contemporary neo-colonial experience with its historical past that remains unfulfilled in the novel" (*The Novels of George Lamming* 85). This statement holds true perhaps for Teeton's self-cleansing and reconciliation with the events that led to his flight from San Cristobal. But forgiving is not forgetting. Lamming

clearly rejects this comedic resolution by making his novel openly about Caliban's rage. Teeton, like Césaire's Caliban, seeks freedom from his oppression through active rebellion. The mock Ceremony of Souls he undergoes in the heath is meant to cleanse him from a paralyzing past to prepare him for his present and future fights against the colonial experience, all of which requires that he not be reconciled to his historical past. At most, Teeton's encounters with Myra in the heath reflect Caliban's need to be forgiven by those he victimized in his rage: Randa and--vicariously--Myra.

Myra's story does remind Teeton that what happened to her in her father's estate could happen again in the future San Cristobal rebellion. On the other hand, Lamming has Myra's alleged father killed not by "the servant and his friends" but by his own brother, Fernando, and Myra's rape stands as an unusual event in the history of Caribbean rebellion.¹⁴

In fact, the parallel between Myra's story of her life in the faraway estates and the general story of Shakespeare's *Tempest* indicates that the dialogue Lamming rehearses in *Water With Berries* is mostly intertextual rather than historical. In Lamming's novel, history, myth and fiction combine to expose the reader to all the voices muffled by Prospero in Shakespeare's *Tempest*: Caliban, Miranda, Ferdinand, Antonio and of course Prospero's wife,

whose side of the story Lamming thought had to be "postponed until some arrangement comparable to the Haitian Ceremony of Souls returns [her] to tell us what we should and ought to know" (*The Pleasures of Exile* 116). *Water With Berries* becomes the fictional Ceremony of Souls where Lamming encounters Shakespeare and engages him in a "carnavalesque" cross-cultural, cross-historical, counter-mythical dialogue. As a result of this encounter, strange hybrids emerge to populate Lamming's novel. The "savage and deformed slave" becomes a fragmentized Caliban to illustrate the complexities of the character. Prospero's wife is indoctrinated by Prospero, loved by Ferdinand, and killed by Caliban; Fernando embodies racists Stephano and Trinculo, conniving Antonio, and loving Ferdinand. Most important is Miranda's split into paradoxical characters: Randa, Caliban's childhood sweetheart who betrays him because she loves him; the virgin whore Myra, the embodiment of Prospero's cursed treasure, a barren desolation that gives Caliban a new impetus to face his duties. Her fantastically staged rape combines the myth of the black man as rapist of white women with the repressed male fantasies of *The Tempest's* Prince Ferdinand as he promises Prospero he will be a chaste lover to Miranda: "the murkiest den,/The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion/ Our worser genius can, shall never melt/ Mine honor into lust" (4.1.26-28).

Numerous critics find *Water With Berries* a self-defeating vision of the Caribbean neo-colonial, who, unable to escape his colonial condition, is condemned to confirm the worst stereotypes white culture has created of him.¹⁵ However, once we understand that Lamming devised *Water With Berries* as a place where the Caribbean could encounter its European past and transcend it, Teeton's imprisonment after his escape from the Old Dowager's island does not translate as the defeat of his movement toward rebellion. It is rather the beginning of the most important trial of all: the one where he, Derek or Roger may seem to be the accused, but what is really being judged is the colonial system that accuses them. As a last indication of what is to come, Lamming gives us one line: "There was a smell of fire on the morning" (*Water With Berries* 248). The slave's revolt is far from over.

Conclusion to the non-dramatic appropriations.

The appropriations discussed in this section represent diverse responses derived from one consistent identification with characters and situations from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. To illustrate the cultural differences between the Latin and Anglo cultures, José Enrique Rodó concentrates on the universal opposition of the spiritual Ariel and earthly Caliban already established by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*. From his first entrance, Ariel boasts a Protean capacity to carry out Prospero's supernatural tasks:

I come

To answer thy [Prospero's] best pleasure;
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curled clouds.
(1.2. 189-192)

On the other hand, Prospero introduces Caliban as an earthly being capable only of material tasks:

We cannot miss him [Caliban]: he does make our
fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us. What, ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! Speak!
(1.2. 311-314)

The photographs of Ariel and Caliban's statue by the Chilean artist Totila Albert at the beginning of this dissertation best express the relationship Rodó had in mind for his appropriation of these two characters. Caliban (Matter) is crouched, grounded with the much

smaller Ariel (Mind) standing erect on his back. Ariel's finger points to the sky. Caliban connects Ariel to the world while providing him with a platform for his skyward ascent.

Roberto Fernández Retamar responds to Rodó's vision of Latin America by focusing on Caliban's first accusation against Prospero, "This island's mine by Sycorax my mother,/Which thou tak'st from me" (*The Tempest* 1.2.331-332), and refocusing attention away from the opposition between Caliban and Ariel to that between Caliban and Prospero. Fernández Retamar sees in Shakespeare's Caliban the prefiguration of those Latin American revolutionary historic heroes (Bolívar, Touissant Louverture, Martí, Césaire, Castro, etc.) who have fought for cultural as well as political freedom. In this sense, Fernández Retamar interprets the main characters of *The Tempest* in contemporary sociopolitical terms, an interpretation extended and illustrated in the appropriations of Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Aimé Césaire, and George Lamming.

These three black Caribbean writers add ~~race~~ to the cultural and political variables discussed in the appropriations by Rodó and Fernández Retamar. Ironically self-aware, Edward Kamau Brathwaite humorously interprets the pathetic and comical figure of Shakespeare's Caliban as an accurate representation of the present state of the Caribbean colonial. Brathwaite has devoted his life's work

to "carnivalize"/"calibanize" Caliban's image and its correspondent reality--a reality he constantly experiences, in a living parallel to Lamming's artists in *Water With Berries*, as a colonial writer. At the other end of the spectrum, Aimé Césaire's appropriation of *The Tempest* fiercely rejects the image of a comic Caliban, interpreting his "savage and deformed" figure as a sign of difference. This difference comes to Caliban from his African roots, his "négritude," to help him resist the European culture. Thus, Césaire redefines Caliban into a worthy antagonist to the usurping Prospero.

In spite of their different approaches, both Brathwaite and Césaire concentrate on the difference and uniqueness of Caliban's world and choose to depict it as a "magico-realistic" reality. On the one hand, Caliban experiences the world differently from Prospero; on the other, he does not possess the tools to communicate his experience. Thus, the realism of his identity remains remains opaque, incomprehensible, "magical" to readers outside his culture.

In a third reading of Caliban's story, George Lamming concentrates on the monster's bondage to Prospero and his corresponding rage at having been subjected. In *The Tempest*, Caliban's rage is directed at Prospero but also at himself:

I loved thee [Prospero]
And showed thee all the qualities o'th' isle,

The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and
fertile.

Cursed be I that did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax--toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king.

(1.2.336-341)

Lamming attributes Caliban's curses to the rage of the modern Caribbean black colonial living as second-class citizen in England. In doing so, Lamming emphasizes how the colonial subtext of *The Tempest*, combined with its themes of exile and forgiveness, will remain current as long as the legacy of colonialism remains.

Since for centuries Shakespeare has been exalted as an international standard of cultural value, *The Tempest* has become the prime text that dramatizes Latin America's subservience to Europe. Rodó, Fernández Retamar, Brathwaite, Lamming and Césaire, however, have founded an alternative tradition that deconstructs the colonial experience at least fictionally. Most importantly, these appropriations of *The Tempest* have helped Latin Americans come to terms with their reality and given them alternative values outside the culture of the colonizer. In terms of *The Tempest*'s current importance to Latin America, I find fault with Rob Nixon's assertion of the play's "declining pertinence" to the "postcolonial world":

The Tempest's value for African and Caribbean intellectuals faded once the plot ran out. The play lacks a sixth act which might have been enlisted for representing relations among

Caliban, Ariel, and Prospero once they entered the postcolonial era.

("Caribbean and African Appropriations of *The Tempest*" 576)

Nixon also finds *The Tempest* lacking in models of "female defiance" with which the increasing women activists of the ex-colonies can identify. Nixon believes the present political and cultural leaders of the neocolonial countries concentrate more on their countries' survival than on "issues of national or racial identity," so that *The Tempest* has lost its "immediate urgent value" for the Third World ("Caribbean and African Appropriations" 577).

I believe, however, Nixon has confused the colonial situation with the colonial **experience**, a difference of the utmost importance, as Lamming explains in an interview:

The colonial situation is a matter of historical record. What I'm saying is that the colonial experience is a *live* experience in the consciousness of these people. And just because the so-called colonial situation and institutions may have been transferred into something else, it is a fallacy to think the human-lived content of those situations are automatically transferred into something else, too. The experience is a continuing *psychic* experience that has to be dealt with and will have to be dealt with long after the actual colonial situation formally "ends."

(Kent 92)

The Tempest, then, will remain topical to Latin American self-representation as long as colonialism is experienced. Of course, interpretations of the play will vary according to the development of the neo-colonial situation, even in

ways Nixon did not think possible. Lamming's *Water With Berries*, for instance, provides *The Tempest* with a sequel that shows the change in the relations among Caliban, Ariel and Prospero. Brathwaite, still recreating himself as the marginal writer in his 1992 "Letter Sycorax," gives the Caribbean woman an active role in the culture of resistance as Sycorax, Caliban's mother and keeper of his "nam." Finally, Césaire's 1950 intervention at the Assemblée Nationale proves that the myth of the good master and his humble servant is as current for twentieth-century Latin Americans as it was for Shakespeare when he wrote *The Tempest*.

PART II

Introduction: Contemporary Latin American Theater.

The precarious nature of life in Latin America defines its theater. Just as the average Latin American citizen wonders whether the cost of living will rise 200% overnight or if his present government will suddenly be overthrown and replaced, the average Latin American actor knows that he cannot earn a living from his labor and that his company--which usually has no stable production space it can all its own--may dissolve within months.

Financial instability so defines the theater in Latin America that the term "commercial theater" is regularly used to name those theatrical activities ~~except~~ from monetary problems. Since commercial theater exists solely to make money, it restricts its expression to entertainment shows such as vaudeville, the Café-concert and the cabaret.¹

Besides producing commercial theater, Latin American theater people cope with the precariousness of their medium by allying themselves with some section of society which has the money and resources to support theatrical activities (a government agency, a church, or a political party). While companies allied with such groups can work with fewer financial worries (sponsors usually still expect companies to supply part of the funds), they also frequently compromise their artistic expression by

adhering or yielding to the values and precepts of the group that supports them.²

Based on the circumstances outlined above, Latin American theater can be classified into three main groups: first, the "official" theater, so-called because it represents the worldview of the ruling sections of society. This group customarily includes institutions and events directly regulated by the government such as state universities or city theater festivals. In the analysis of *Tempest* productions that follows, Venezuela's Compañía Nacional illustrates the general objective of "official" theater: the promulgation of culture to average and low-income citizens. Unfortunately, "official" theater habitually limits its definition of "culture" to conservative productions of sanitized classics. The Chilean actor and director Willy Semler described a typical version of "official" theater using an example from a production of *Waiting for Godot* by the Universidad Católica de Chile:

At the end [of the play], the tramps just sit in the middle of nowhere, isn't that right? Well, this production finished with some church music and a celestial light descending on the tramps. Can you believe it? They are saved! That is the most unsuitable ending for *Godot* I can think of. But what can you do if you are being overseen by the Catholic Church?

(Personal Interview)

Many times, however, the "official" theater replaces the conservative artistic expressions it normally favors to

duplicate the latest avant-garde European trends. Semler exemplified this other flaw of "official" theater with a sarcastic description of the response by Chilean artists--including himself--to post-modernism:

The post-modernism fever in Chile is just the new snob trend. It does not matter whether you understand--as a matter of fact, the ~~less~~ you understand, the better, because that way it's more sophisticated and weird.... You have a naked bride, then a guy who shoots himself, and suddenly blood and water shoot from everywhere--there's always lots of water. And so you look to the side to see if the guy next to you understands what's going on, and you see that he's looking at *you*. And then you think: "Ah, no. I'm not going to look like a fool." So when they ask you what you think about the play, you say, "Amazing! the part with the water gave me goosebumps."

(Personal Interview)

A simple chain of events can partly explain this pseudo-intellectual imitation of Europe: first, those sections of society which sponsor "official" theater generally look up to European culture. This, in turn, encourages many Latin American performers and directors to seek post-graduate training outside their countries, preferably in Europe, as a means to secure a job. Once back home, these post-graduates make futile attempts at transposing the European worldview to Latin American contexts, and thus end up as mere parrots of European discourse.

However, when wisely administered, "official" theater can help produce many original and creative plays. Magdalena Solórzano's 1992 production of *The Tempest* is a

case in point: Solórzano produced valuable theater for almost a decade before the theatrical authorities in Mexico recognized her work. Once they did, though, they gave her significant help to produce *La Tempestad*.

The second general type of theatrical activity in Latin America is frequently labelled "political" theater to indicate its adherence to the political views of those parties opposed to the sponsors of "official" theater.³ As the heir of Brechtian theories, "political" theater for the most part exposes the ills of the ruling system in hopes of moving audiences to act against those ills. "Political" theater includes such varied expressions as the revolutionary work of the exiled Chilean group El Aleph, the communal theatre ("teatro colectivo") of the Colombian La Candelaria or the socio-didactic Theater of the Oppressed of the Brazilian Augusto Boal.⁴ In the analysis of *Tempest* productions that follows, the Venezuelan production by Rajatabla falls into the category of "political" theater because it overtly subverted the neighborly image the ruling classes of Venezuela--or Latin America, for that matter-- would like its people to have of the United States. Rajatabla then added insult to injury by presenting this version of the play to a mostly American audience during the 1991 New York Shakespeare Festival.

Lastly, Latin America has a variety of theatrical activities that can be categorized as "popular" theater because they are rooted in national/regional/local folklore.⁵ Unlike "official" and "political" theater, "popular" theater for the most part rises spontaneously from people not permanently engaged in doing theater, so much "popular" theater tends to be amateur. "Popular" theater includes semi-organized activities such as street theater, and other more ritualistic/ludic forms such as carnival performances and circus acts.⁶ For the past thirty years, directors--and even entire companies such as the Peruvian Yuyachkani--have become increasingly interested in investigating and adopting the beliefs and rituals of local communities. Chilean Willy Semler's production of *The Tempest*, for example, in a hybridization typical of the loose forms of "popular" theater, mixed acting techniques from Ariane Mnouchkine's Théâtre du Soleil with the beliefs and myths his cast took from national folkloric accounts of African culture.⁷

Obviously, some Latin American theatrical activities reflect a rather complex overlapping of two or even all three categories mentioned above. A group, for instance, may perform indigenous rituals ("popular" theater) with the purpose of stimulating its audience to become involved in the struggle for the rights of the dispossessed Indian population ("political" theater), and have the Catholic

Church as its sponsor ("official" theater). Most commonly, actors and directors will alternate between productions that reaffirm the status quo ("official" theater) and those that subvert or reject it ("political" theater). Again, this paradoxical behavior can be explained by the precariousness and changing nature of the theatrical profession in Latin America: working for the "official" culture in, for example, soap operas, secures a stable income for the performer, while performing in "political" theater may bring him aesthetic or moral satisfaction.

The four productions analyzed in the following sections are individual interpretations of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* by a variety of theater companies embedded in the complex reality of Latin American theater simplified here. To prevent over-simplification and to help readers understand the particular circumstances that may have informed interpretive and methodological decisions, I have supplied a short introductory account of the historical and cultural context that surrounded each production.

My analysis begins with the 1989 Chilean production by the company El Conventillo, headed by actor/director Tomás Vidiella. This production was co-directed by the English directors Mark Brickman and Janine Wünsche. The second interpretation, also from Chile, was produced in 1994 by the young company La Bordada, headed by actor/director Willy Semler. Their production was a

collective enterprise. The third adaptation came from Venezuela's leading theater company, Rajatabla, headed by its renowned director, Carlos Giménez. The idea for Rajatabla's interpretation began when Giménez produced *The Tempest* in 1987 with a cast from Venezuela's Compañía Nacional. Four years later his interpretation developed into a lavish creation for the open stage of the Delacorte Theater in New York's Central Park. Finally, a Mexican production from 1992 closes this theatrical analysis of Latin American adaptations of *The Tempest*. The Mexican company, Por Amor Al Arte, headed by director Magdalena Solórzano, had produced *The Tempest* for three consecutive years before it was considered "professional" enough to be awarded a grant by the Mexican government to "officially" produce *La Tempestad*.

Chapter One: Chilean Productions.

Chilean Theatre.

Organized theatre in Chile began in the 1940's with the rival companies of the country's two main universities, Universidad de Chile's Compañía de Teatro Experimental and Universidad Católica's Teatro de Ensayo. Through the years both companies have changed their names but not their influential role in Chile's theatre, having trained most Chilean actors and directors. Also, commercial groups, professional as well as amateur, exist in abundance outside these university companies.¹ In 1989, one such commercial group, Tomás Vidiella's Teatro El Conventillo produced an outstanding version of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the first production to be analyzed in this section.

Overall, theatre produced in Chile by these disparate groups ranges from experimental to classical, from national to international (many actors do post-graduate work outside the country). Collectively-generated pieces with a strong sociopolitical stand form an important part of Chilean theater, as the stage was used quite openly to resist the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet for almost two decades. During Pinochet's rule (1973-1990) the teachers of the University of Chile's company were fired and actors everywhere were threatened, beaten, exiled, murdered or arrested and then reported as

"missing" by the local authorities.² In spite of these brutalities, many companies outside the universities kept producing pieces overtly against Pinochet's regime until their efforts, joined to that of many other sociopolitical sectors, formed an opposition large enough (the "NO") to vote Pinochet out of power in October of 1988. The years that followed the victory of the democratic opposition should be understood as a transitional period for the theatre as well as the country, as part of the one million Chileans exiled during the seventeen years of dictatorship, many of them prized intellectuals, came back home. During these years pro-Pinochet Chileans stared unbelievably at their TV sets as authorities "discovered" massive graves full of the bones of the "missing" while anti-Pinochet Chileans were shocked that the people responsible for these crimes were given a general amnesty by law. The Armed Forces guilty of filling those graves did not acknowledge their participation in the events and things were drawing to a standstill when the newly elected president, Patricio Aylwyn, established a committee--tellingly named Truth and Reconciliation--to investigate the mass graves. The committee put together a report that documented over 3,000 cases of torture and murder under the Pinochet regime. A tearful Patricio Aylwyn then presented the report to the country on national television and asked the victims' families to pardon the criminals.

Some retribution against the officers of Pinochet's regime ensued, but the general feeling was that the future of the country depended on forgiving without ever forgetting. Chilean theater during these difficult years reflected this general feeling. While some companies kept producing highly politicized plays, most others stressed the need to move on.

Tomás Vidiella's production.³

Shakespeare's plays have experienced a boom in Chile during the past decade. In 1989, Tomás Vidiella made a commercial success of *The Tempest* while the group "Q" presented *Macbeth* on stilts. In 1991 a controversial *Winter's Tale* by the travelling company of the Ministry of Education toured the country. In 1992, an allegorical *Richard II*, a carnivalesque *Twelfth Night*, and a *King Lear*, carefully translated by the prize-winning poet Nicanor Parra and produced by Universidad Católica, were hit shows in Santiago, the Chilean capital. In 1994 Willy Semler produced his Afro-Caribbean version of *The Tempest*, and in 1995 an offshoot of *Hamlet*, *Ofelia o la Madre Muerta* (*Ophelia or the Dead Mother*), by the Chilean playwright Marco Antonio de la Parra took Santiago by storm.⁴

Tomás Vidiella already had a prosperous commercial company when he produced *The Tempest*. This production was a risky move in a country where earning a steady income

from acting is almost impossible. Vidiella explained the effort and the risk in making *The Tempest* as part of the unstable nature of Chilean commercial theater:

My company is not sponsored by either military or state institutions. The money comes from my work and that of the actors that work with me. All the money we get comes from selling tickets, and with that we finance our shows. And some shows are two hundred thousand dollars.... But risks have always been part of my life; what, with this profession, it cannot be but so. I like risks, and maybe that is why audiences like me and come to my productions, no matter what I do. So that is why I did not want to do a sure hit like *Romeo and Juliet*, that has been done so many times, but something challenging, even if it meant losing money. But then, we did not lose money with *The Tempest*.
(Personal Interview)

Vidiella usually avoids money problems by alternating cabaret shows with the production of literary pieces in which he spends the money earned during the cabaret season. Such was the case of *The Tempest*. Vidiella also chose this play over *King Lear*--his first choice--because it required fewer actors and therefore fewer salaries. Vidiella moreover felt attracted by other, less practical features of Shakespeare's last play, such as its metatheatrical nature: "I thought it would be interesting to produce a play whose central message is that we dream our lives, we are the creators of our lives" (Personal Interview). Also as theater owner, actor, director and producer, Vidiella reasonably considered the part of Prospero perfect for him.

Although he had a tight budget, Vidiella paid one of the most learned translators of the country, Fernando Debesa, to help him elucidate *The Tempest's* text. Then, with the help of the British Council, he hired English director Mark Brickman to direct the play. The text was translated and enacted complete, in spite of Vidiella's objections to the scene of Juno, Iris and Ceres' blessings to Ferdinand and Miranda, which he considered too long and complicated for Chilean audiences.

The setting was simple and post-modernist. Vidiella's theatre, El Conventillo, had to be substantially modified to accommodate the circular thrust stage suggested by Brickman.⁵ The set was alabaster white, with a maze-like drawing decorating the floor of the stage. The actors dressed in white and black with the exception of the spirits, whose bright-colored clothing distinguished them from the rest of the characters. Ariel, hair bleached silver white, always stood out due to his long scarlet gown. Caliban wore flashy leather overalls to which he sometimes added a matching black cape. Prospero and Ariel created their "magic" with the help of the audience's imagination: light variations partly simulated Prospero's tempest; Ariel would change a pair of gloves to "become" a sea-nymph, or more spectacularly, he would use other actors' bodies to turn into a giant harpy:

The actors playing the spirits would come in using head masks that made them look as if they

had three faces and they would form a tower. Then Ariel would get on top of the tower and unfold...Pruuuum!! a giant silken cloth that covered all the actors, so Ariel would look enormous, gigantic, menacing.

(Interview with Tomás Vidiella)

José Miguel Miranda wrote original music to give Prospero's island its "sweet airs" and to accompany the songs of Ariel (whose actor had a soft tenor voice), Caliban, Stephano and the spirits Juno, Iris and Ceres.

Vidiella and Brickman agreed that the atemporal, abstract setting best emphasized *The Tempest's* story over its spectacle. Brickman wanted a small stage close to the audience to better communicate the inner conflicts of the characters, particularly of Prospero. Brickman also insisted the actors wear very little makeup in order to accent their corporal movement. The costumes mostly signalled a division between the "real" characters (Prospero, Miranda and the members of Alonso's court) and the projections of Prospero's inner self (Ariel, Caliban and the isle's spirits). Despite its minimalism, the production retained its "magical" dimension through the song and ritualistic movement of the spirits.

Vidiella and Brickman wished to emphasize Prospero's inner turmoil, which Brickman saw symbolically represented in the tempest that opens the play. Fernando Debesa, the production's translator, defined Prospero's conflict in an article for Chile's leading newspaper:

On one hand, when his old enemies are in his power he wishes to take revenge on them, to punish them, to torture them until they go mad. Prospero, like most human beings, has an excellent memory of the evils committed against him. Those memories make him cruel and relentless. On the other hand, there is another feeling in him--somewhat vague at the beginning [of the play]--that gets stronger as the play unfolds until it becomes a conviction: it is his desire to forgive, the need to overcome his own hatred and become reconciled with his enemies.

("La Tempestad", de Shakespeare")

In contrast to Brickman's desire for Prospero's inner conflict to reflect "the opposition between power and justice" that afflicts leaders everywhere, Vidiella saw Prospero torn between revenge and forgiveness, a conflict he knew would hit very close to home in Chile:

We have looked under the surface [of the play] and highlighted the feelings that motivate the characters. How can treason, the wish for revenge, repression and hate not be current themes?

(M.H., "Shakespeare en el Conventillo")

With this cautiously oblique reference, Vidiella connected the themes highlighted in his production to the Chilean political "tempest" at that time: as Chile passed from a dictatorial regime to a democratic republic, thousands of exiles were returning after an absence of fifteen or more years. Those exiles, along with thousands of others who stayed and experienced Pinochet's tyranny now were torn between revenge for their sufferings and the need to forgive their oppressors so that the country would not be immersed in bloody feuds. Thus, Vidiella believed that the

play's most fascinating message to the local audience was summed up in Prospero's last couplet ("As you from crimes would pardoned be,/ Let your indulgence set me free") which he loosely translated into "as you wish your vices to be forgiven, set free your capability for forgiveness" (Gaete, "Esperando la tempestad"). Newspaper reporters and theatre critics were quick to catch the sociopolitical commentary of Vidiella's production and made careful reference to it in their articles. Although the message was clear, it was--as in all theatrical productions of the time--elliptical because Pinochet still remained in power. Critics and theater audiences had become used to actors' self-censure and at reading double meanings in every production they saw.

Textual translation.

Vidiella translated *The Tempest* in collaboration with Fernando Debesa, an actor, designer and theatre scholar whose play *Mama Rosa* won the National Award of the Arts. Both men have a complete command of the English language, and Debesa--an ardent admirer of Shakespeare's work--has a very comprehensive understanding of Shakespearean theatre. Their acting version of *The Tempest* is thorough, clear and close in meaning to the original. Unfortunately, in their efforts to express the ~~ideas~~ of the original, much of the poetical effect was lost, particularly in the speeches of Ariel and Caliban.

Versification was only kept for Ariel's and Caliban's songs and for Prospero's last speech, where they succeeded in maintaining the rhyming couplets.⁶

The first draft of the translation cut much of Stephano and Trinculo's repartee as well as the scenes with the goddesses Juno, Iris, and Ceres. Vidiella explained these cuts in an interview:

Fernando Debesa and I proposed certain cuts that were fundamental...because there are parts of *The Tempest* that are obsolete. The scene with the goddesses, well, you understand that for us [Chileans] these deities are very removed from our reality. You have to be Saxon or European to understand all that symbolism. These characters need to be accommodated to the age and culture we live in. The comedy of Trinculo and Stephano should also be given in small doses. Gringos find drunk characters funny, but in Chile a drunkard on stage is more vulgar than funny, and definitely not very interesting. We tend to associate the figure of the drunkard with cheap, third-rate entertainment.

(Personal Interview)

But director Mark Brickman insisted on doing the play in its entirety, which in Vidiella's eyes was "foolish ignorance" of the circumstances surrounding the production:

[Brickman] was immediately against the cuts and wanted to do the complete play. Now, you understand that Fernando [Debesa] is an academic, a scholar, a guy who knows much about Shakespeare and about theatre. Our cuts were not arbitrary. We know our audiences. But the director wanted to do the play as they do it in England. So we had to re-integrate the cut text. If the play was tedious at times, it was

because the director did not let us cut a
comma.

(Personal Interview)

Still, Vidiella and Debesa managed to convince Brickman to cut the characters of Adrian and Francisco from the text, probably on monetary grounds, along with Adrian's prattling with Gonzalo about Tunis, Carthage and "widow Dido" in 2.1.69-102. This final version of the text was enacted faithfully except for slight syntactical modifications in Prospero's abjuration of his magic to help Vidiella deliver the speech smoothly.

Critics agreed that the translation had deprived *The Tempest* of its poetry, and consequently, of the magical quality of its world. Some deplored this as "reductionism" while others applauded the translators' success in maintaining the message intact in spite of having depleted some of its form. One critic said she had particularly missed the rhythms that made Prospero's last speech stand out from the rest of the play (Interview with Carola Oyarzún). Apparently, the few rhymed passages were not as obvious in performance as they are in the text.

The production's lack of poetic language--which critics blamed on the limitations of the translation probably--had its most significant cause in Brickman's limited knowledge of Spanish. A translator had to be hired to make his instructions clear to those actors unfamiliar with English. Brickman, therefore, must have been clearly

unable to correct the diction, intonation, accent and cadence of the actors' speeches and consequently, emphasized idea and gesture over form to convey the message of the production.

Interpretation of the text.

The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance.
--Prospero, *The Tempest* 5.1.27-28.

For Mark Brickman, *The Tempest* enacts each man's quest for psychological and spiritual balance, best represented in the agonizing self-analysis of Prospero:

The contradiction between power and justice can be lived through Prospero. In *The Tempest*, an injustice is committed for power and the innocent victim becomes the center of the play. Later, this same character [Prospero] acquires another type of power--the one given to him by magic--and he uses it as he wishes against the rest of the characters. Towards the end, Prospero is converted, but he has also been able to plan and execute his revenge.

(Muñoz, "'La Tempestad': Magia para Restaurar la Justicia")

In Brickman's view, *The Tempest's* magic helps reestablish Prospero's power and position in the world of the play. The spectacle resulting from the performance of magic by either Prospero or Ariel, then, should not be an end in itself.

Vidiella also located *The Tempest's* conflict in Prospero's "internal tempest," but unlike Brickman he did not believe that Prospero was ever reestablished to his rightful place. For Vidiella, Prospero was hallucinating

for most of the play. *The Tempest* then became the enactment of Prospero's dreams of revenge and restitution:

Prospero is a guy full of grudges, of hate, and in need of revenge. His island is isolated, but he also isolates himself, so that everything happens in his mind: his imagination makes Caliban and Ariel exist, makes his enemies arrive miraculously untouched by the sea water and so on. I believe Prospero is alone with his daughter on the island.

(Personal Interview)

Vidiella found himself deeply interested in the thoughts and feelings of his character who--he believed--imagines the action of *The Tempest* on his deathbed and who, in Vidiella's words, "still is full of needs: the need for revenge and the need to be restored" (Personal Interview).

Vidiella found support for his interpretation in the incidental characterization of Ariel and Caliban: their form does not matter since they are only mental concepts imagined by Prospero. Ariel could represent will, the acting agent of Prospero's mind, while Caliban would be Prospero's more violent and lustful thoughts, his "darker" side. For Vidiella, then, the fantastic events in the play caused by the feverish imagination of the dying Prospero were equal to real magic. In fact, Vidiella started feeling so superstitious about "the esoteric side" of the play that during the three months of rehearsal he wore a red "macumba" (a Brazilian charm in the form of a strap that is worn on either wrist) so that "everything would turn out all right" (Lavín, "Aún sin desatarse, antigua

'Tempestad' provoca efectos por 12 millones de pesos en El Conventillo"). Later, we will see a similar but stronger credulous response to the magic in *The Tempest* in Magdalena Solórzano's Mexican *Tempest*.

Since both Brickman and Vidiella saw the play in terms of story rather than spectacle, their most pressing need was to make the story immediate for Chilean audiences. Brickman believed this immediacy is vital to any play: "the audience must feel that the play is a mirror of what is happening to them, even though its situation is completely alien" (Lavín, "'La Tempestad': Magia para Restaurar la Justicia"). Thus, he chose an atemporal setting and somewhat nondescript black and white costumes for the actors. The production was to be as far removed from a classical Shakespearean production as possible.⁷

For Vidiella, on the other hand, *The Tempest's* story itself spoke to the Chilean audience, particularly at the point where Prospero decides to forgive Alonso and Antonio. "What could touch a Chilean audience more than Prospero forgiving the enemies that exiled him and his daughter?" he asked in 1995 during an interview, referring cautiously both to the political situation in Chile back in 1989 and to those exiles who, in coming back to the country, had to go through the painful process of forgiving those who caused their exile in 1973.

That the themes of usurpation, exile and forgiveness touched the nerve of the Chilean public can be seen in the strong emphasis all Chilean critics gave to these themes in their reviews. This could, of course, be mostly a reflection of Brickman and Vidiella's stress on Prospero's conflict between absolute, unchecked power and charitable justice. On the other hand, seven years later Carola Oyarzún still remembered the striking parallels between *The Tempest's* story and the sociopolitical context in which it was performed:

The play seemed totally connected with the political moment in which the play opened--May 25, 1989--after the triumph of the NO [the coalition of political parties against the dictatorship] because of [the play's] constant themes of usurpation and reconciliation, which reflected Chile's situation in the transition to democracy.

(Personal Interview)

Interestingly, Prospero's forgiveness was stressed most by critics from newspapers which had strongly sympathized with Pinochet's regime. A case in point is Fernando Debesa's conclusion to his own article on *The Tempest*, which appeared in the Sunday edition of the right-wing *El Mercurio*:

Without doubt, Shakespeare's central message in his last work is that forgiveness must prevail over resentment, reconciliation over discord. This dilemma seems obvious, almost common. But for the playwright it is not easy. He knows from experience that forgiving is difficult, that wounds are hard to heal. There is a need for an arduous fight between the will to absolve and the rancours that are still alive

after decades. Or, in Shakespeare's words, there is the need for 'a tempest.'

But even if *The Tempest* helped spread a message favorable to the oppressors, it also articulated the unspoken feelings of most Chileans who had lived under the dictatorship. As a representative of the liberal middle class, for instance, Vidiella repeatedly voiced in his newspaper interviews the sincere need for compromise many Chileans felt in 1989:

We all have something of Prospero in us. On the one hand, there is the hate because [Prospero] has been betrayed by his own brother. But then there is also the guilt: he left his duties as a ruler; that's why he was exiled. He lives a contradiction: if he wants to return home, he has to abandon the magic that gives him new power and trust that what happened to him will never happen again.

("Shakespeare en el Conventillo")

But *The Tempest* exists as more than a production that struck the right note at the right time. As long as Chileans struggle between the need for justice and the need to forgive and move on, Brickman and Vidiella's interpretation will remain central to the Chilean experience.

Cultural clashes.

Although he is an accomplished actor and director himself, Vidiella had established the practice of ceding the direction of his productions, even before he invited Mark Brickman to direct *The Tempest*. Vidiella had seen Brickman's work--a production of *Hamlet*--in a visit of the

Actors Touring Company sponsored by the British Council in 1988, and had been impressed by the young director's ability to convey the Shakespearean essence with a small cast. Arrangements were made so Brickman could return the following year to direct *The Tempest*. Vidiella recalled that the misunderstandings began even before Brickman arrived: the Englishman had not told Vidiella he intended his wife, Janine Wünsche, to co-direct the play. What offended Vidiella the most, however, was that Brickman did not know how to behave as a proper guest:

[Brickman]'s wife came with him, and she castrated him. We had to bear with her all the time, and she is a deadly being. Worse of all, she does not have his talent.... And then when we were here, in **my very house**, in a press conference, he announces "this is going to be a co-direction." Now, that really surprised me, because he had not mentioned that to me, but I could not say anything in front of the reporters. **Besides they were guests in my house.**⁸

(Personal Interview, emphasis mine)

Besides bearing with Brickman's wife, Janine Wünsche, Vidiella had to cope with the stubbornness of Brickman himself. In spite of his limited understanding of the culture or the language, the Englishman was determined to have things his way. First, he insisted on re-instituting the cuts Fernando Debesa and Vidiella had made to the text, despite the translators' arguments against such a move. Then, during the auditions, he refused Vidiella's experienced suggestions in selecting the cast:

About 80 or 90 actors and actresses auditioned for *The Tempest*. I think that it is difficult for a foreign director to know in one audition how an actor is for the part. And so we had disagreements with the director caused by [the difference between] what he wanted from a cast and what I knew from a cast I know inside and out here in Chile.

(Personal Interview)

But Brickman was in charge of the production, and the cast remained as he had chosen it. Moreover, because Brickman wanted Prospero to be agile and swift on stage, Vidiella had to lose ten pounds and to submit himself to a rigorous work out during the three months of rehearsal. Brickman had the cast rehearse nine hours a day, six days a week in a nearby church. Meanwhile Vidiella's theater was remodelled to conform to the Englishman's desire to have a stage that would diminish the distance between actors and audience--just like Shakespeare's stage. A reporter following the preparations for *The Tempest* was so impressed with the revolution Brickman had caused in El Conventillo that he--punning on the play's name--knicknamed Brickman "Hurricane Mark." In an interview, Debesa recalled those agitated days with some amusement:

The director was a tyrant. He was a 28-year-old kid, but he was tough as nails. He did not tolerate any defect. He made Tomás [Vidiella] work like a beast. [He smiles]. You know, Tomás has always been a little hard headed, but this time he had to obey.

(Personal Interview)

Brickman's tough regime had the desired effect: the production was universally acclaimed as impeccable,

consistent and correct. However, seven years later, Vidiella voiced his frustration at the extreme correctness of the production:

Do not misinterpret me. I did not want to do something different from what Shakespeare had proposed in his play, but, obviously, I would have been interested in passing the play through a Latin [American] filter instead of staying with the mere formalism of doing a correct play.... The play was excellent, and it also was a beautiful show, but to my taste it was too academic, too formal.

(Personal Interview)

Vidiella explained that most of his frustrations came from Brickman's "inability to understand the difference between the way Saxons and Latinos confront things" coupled with the Englishman's wariness of Vidiella's motives for dissent:

The main problem was that I had a director that tried to prove he was always right, while sometimes I ~~knew~~ he was wrong. For instance, I would tell him: "Look, I know this actor whose audition you like so much, I have seen what he has done. He is not for the role. Believe me, I am telling you this because I want the best production possible, not because I want to hire another actor who is my friend."

(Personal Interview)

Setting aside all these misunderstandings, Vidiella still remembers the production with pride and excitement: while it may not have matched the idiosyncracies of Chilean culture, he believed their work was "fit to be presented in Buenos Aires or even Europe" (Personal Interview). Most reviewers agreed: *The Tempest* was an outstanding

Shakespearean production and Prospero one of the finest performances Tomás Vidiella has delivered in his career.

Critical reception.

The theater of Tomás Vidiella has always had an important following in Chile. A seasoned actor and director, Vidiella runs one of the few successful commercial theaters of the country, and is famous for founding Chile's first theater for Café-Concert. But after a decade of producing entertainment theater, Vidiella decided to move to more risky enterprises. Through the past 15 years, he has introduced Chilean theater audiences to Molière, Albee, Genet, Shakespeare, Brecht, Miller and many other international figures, interspersing them with national and Latin American playwrights. His *Tempest*, therefore, was not necessarily more important for him than his production of Molière's *The Miser* and never as popularly acclaimed as his *Death of A Salesman*.

Even so, criticism of *The Tempest* was positive overall. Besides its aforementioned "Saxon" qualities--correctness and consistency--critics were charmed by the ethereal quality of Claudio Rodríguez's Ariel and impressed by the intensity of Andrés del Bosque's Caliban. All equally hailed Vidiella's Prospero as the most convincing, most human, most complex character he had ever presented on stage. Although Verónica González's representation of Miranda was considered average, her

youth and beauty gave her character the necessary innocence. As Vidiella had forecast, the ones who made the least impression were the clowns, Trinculo and Stephano, even though Brickman had worked exhaustively with them, for he firmly believed that "clowns constitute one of the gravity centers of Shakespeare's work" (Muñoz, "'La Tempestad': Magia para Restaurar la Justicia").

What all critics expected and what all missed was the spectacle. Most of them were impressed by the abstract beauty of the set, and considered the lighting effects excellent, but some deplored the simplicity of the costumes and the banality of the magic tricks. And in spite of Debesa and Vidiella's efforts, most critics thought the language of the play lacked the poetic quality of the original.

In summary, critics were impressed but not enchanted. The festival quality of *The Tempest* was lost in this elegant production. Critics wanted more dancing and singing, more merriment. They would get it five years later, when director Willy Semler staged a carnivalesque *Tempest* with a group of neophyte actors.

Willy Semler's production.⁹

Guillermo "Willy" Semler, like Vidiella, studied theater at the University of Chile and went out of the country to do post-graduate work. A confessed workaholic, at the time he directed *The Tempest* he was also acting in

the popular soap opera *Ámame* and rehearsing for his role as Freddy, the leader of a band of robbers, for the film *Johnny Cien Pesos*. Originally the final project of graduating theater majors of the Universidad Católica, *The Tempest* developed into a full-scale production which had its first season in the theater of Universidad Católica during September of 1993. Its second season started in March of 1994 in Santiago's Anfiteatro Griego Parque Juan XXIII--an amphitheater with a capacity for 1,500 people--where the play ran for two months. For this second season the students of the class of 1993 had formed an amateur company called La Bordada. In contrast to Vidiella's production, the amateur actors of La Bordada had trouble delivering the "serious" scenes--particularly those in which Alonso grieves at the apparent death of his son Ferdinand (2.1 and 3.3). On the other hand, their youth and enthusiasm gave vigorous life to the fantastic world of Prospero's island, and the audience left the performances bewitched by the performances of Ariel, Caliban and the spirits. Women played the parts of the sailors, the spirits, and some members of Alonso's court as well as Ariel--partly because the graduating class was mostly female, but also because Semler considered the characters of *The Tempest* highly androgynous:

Shakespeare, like most playwrights, has more roles for men than for women. But Shakespeare's texts, unlike others, have a strong transsexual subtext. So why not use [the subtext] the other

way round? Particularly if we have a casting problem, that is, an excess of actresses. Above all, if a woman is so much better in a role--I can give the example of Paola [Fernández] as Ariel--much better than a man, why can't she play the role? We must not be prejudiced by gender. And then, what ~~are~~ the characters of *The Tempest*? Are they Prospero's dream? What kind of spirit is Ariel? What kind of being is Caliban? As you see, gender is a minimal problem here.

(Personal Interview)

Semler was as free-thinking about the interpretation of the text as he was about the gender of its characters. He let his young cast--whose members had little previous knowledge of Shakespeare--come up with the conflicts and business in *The Tempest* by plunging them immediately into rehearsal, without previous analytical work, and letting them discover the meaning of their parts as they tried to enact them. Parts were not assigned, but each could try different roles until he or she found one that fit him/her. All final decisions were made collectively, with Semler acting more as a coordinator than a director.¹⁰

As the players of La Bordada tried to cope with the play's fantastical setting, they decided that to convey the island's exotic, Utopian mood they had to place it in a geographical location the audience would believe remote, exotic and primitive enough to have a culture of magic rituals. They settled for the northern coast of Africa. Semler agreed to the location, for, after all, Shakespeare's text seemed to support his students' choice,

as *The Tempest's* shipwreck occurs during a trip from Tunis to Naples. Obviously, the spirits inhabiting this Utopian African island would have to be black and so would its one native human being, Caliban.

The costume designers decided to stress the exotic quality of the spirits by giving them extravagantly part-colored garments and vivid beaded arrangements to cover their faces, arms and ankles (the spirits were all barefoot). Color also flooded the set, whose floor was covered by aureate sand with a lush emerald jungle painted on the background. All the players had their faces painted white to simulate masks; the spirits and Caliban had their masks done to represent black faces in white paint. Caliban was usually covered in dried reddish mud.

Prospero and Miranda had adapted to the tropical setting by partly adopting its many-colored garb. Prospero's exotic magic robe (black, gold and bright green) and his shaven painted head stressed his authoritarian look and reminded audiences vaguely of an African chieftain. Miranda's state of undress and her "tattooed" mask signaled that she belonged more to the world of the island than to European stock, even though the production kept her a learned and beautiful princess. She also liked to roam freely about the island which she, unlike Prospero, considered home.

King Alonso's followers wore somber black and iron-gray coats, their masks expressing sorrow, anger or contempt. Alonso stood out from the rest of his court by the use of a heavy silvery wig while his son Ferdinand, as the classical prince of romance, wore a snow-white flowing shirt and black hose, his head covered with a crimson scarf, pirate-like.

A trio playing Caribbean music such as salsa, reggae and boleros animated the action and prompted the dancing by Ariel, Caliban and the spirits. (The court, for instance, was put into a trance by carefully choreographed, elaborate ritual dancing.) The musicians' instruments consisted of a saxophone, drums, and an electric bass. Although they improvised some of their rhythms, they mostly played well-known tunes so the audience could dance and sing along with the isle's spirits.

Inevitably, then, Semler's production gave Prospero's magic an exotic "black" quality, and transformed the somewhat platonic love of Miranda and Ferdinand into cross-cultural love since, although raised as a princess, La Bordada's Miranda never had had more "civilized" company than that of Prospero, whereas Ferdinand only knew the world of the court. More importantly, the stress on the fantastical aspect of *The Tempest* eclipsed Prospero's spiritual conflict which, in

turn, made Alonso's grieving seem out of place. As rehearsals emphasized the comedic reconciliatory ending more and more, even Caliban's murder plot against Prospero had to be interpreted as a farcical interlude by a rebellious son. The production turned out to be a very energetic, emotional, and amusing comedy that induced its audience to dance and sing and even cry when Prospero bid farewell to Ariel.

Textual Translation.

Semler and La Bordada used the 1970 Penguin edition of *The Tempest's* text to elucidate the dramatic quality of otherwise scholarly passages in the translation by Luis Astrana Marín.¹¹ Realizing that a true translation from the original was not possible, La Bordada opted for improvising the "translation" of the text with the use of body language. Thus, the "translation" of a particular role became the responsibility of the actor and, secondarily, of the group. Semler illustrated how this "translating" process worked for the very complex character of Ariel:

To give you an example, let's talk about Ariel. At points the actress would say something and nobody could understand what she was trying to say. We would check the original, and our translation. Nothing. After a while, someone said, "Let's cut this part." But I said, "Wait," and asked [the actress] to sing the part. And she started singing, and we realized that she was not trying to say something specific, but that she was in a ritual invoking

other spirits, that her words evoked other worlds.

(Personal Interview)

Obviously, the "translation" varied somewhat from rehearsal to rehearsal as the actors improvised and became more acquainted with their roles. Semler says the group followed the general translation by Astrana Marín, but felt free to change, add and extract according to its understanding of the characters and the situations. In conclusion, because the company considered the verbal aspect of the text as secondary, there was no need to render the text with precision.

Interpretation of the text.

Semler believes that interpretation takes its form from the improvisation of situations paired with the constant rehearsal of these situations. He discourages analytical study of the text previous to its rehearsal, because it predisposes the player to prove a certain preconceived idea about the character, instead of letting the character grow by itself. Final judgement on what a character, situation or even the production means, then, comes from the individual and collective work of the players and has little to do with a particular person's--even the director's--interpretation. Since meaning is not predetermined but discovered, players, Semler claims, cannot completely understand what their character or the play means until sometime near opening night:

I don't work with textual analysis because I think that answers to questions can only be given the night before opening night, once one has plunged deep into the depths of the play and has understood as much as one can. ~~Then~~ one can answer questions. Before that, it is arbitrary to say why Romeo is standing under the balcony. One can imagine many objectives, but until the actor has felt them as a character, in the scene with Juliet, he cannot say: "He wants to sleep with her, damn it; he wants to make her fall in love with him; he wants to love her."

(Personal Interview)

The first aspect of *The Tempest* La Bordada discovered using Semler's technique was the ritualistic rhythm of certain passages spoken by Prospero, Ariel and Caliban, which, along with the textual references to the coast of Africa, convinced the cast that the island and its inhabitants were African. As a by-product of this discovery, Prospero's magic did not originate as much in his European books as in the supranatural powers of the isle's African spirits.

As mentioned before, the decision to set *The Tempest* in Africa exoticized its action and its characters, since African--or even black--people are extremely rare in Chile. The closest referent La Bordada had to African rituals were those surviving in a creolized form in Caribbean culture. Thus, the music to which the isle's spirits danced was not African, but Afro-Caribbean (salsa, bolero, reggae). La Bordada also filtered its interpretation of Africa through the more corrupted view

of Europe. The setting, for instance, depicted fanciful compositions of the African jungle by Rousseau, and, in a caricaturesque touch, two fake tigers were resting at the center of the backstage. Also, the comic business mocked "black face" interpretations of Africans by the use of parodic white faces (Interview with Willy Semler).

As another result of the African setting, La Bordada emphasized the difference between the world of Alonso's court and the world of the isle's inhabitants. They particularly developed this difference in the meeting of Miranda and Ferdinand and in Caliban's "discovery" by Stephano and Trinculo. Miranda, a correct and obedient daughter to Prospero and a princess by education, expressed her innocence of the world by being--like Caliban--a child of Nature. Not unlike her Disney counterpart, Pocahontas, La Bordada's Miranda had a connection with the land and its inhabitants that Prospero could only experience vicarously through her and Ariel. Therefore, in her encounter with Prince Ferdinand she opened her eyes wide, amazed at his elaborate clothing and charmed by his gracious manners. Ferdinand, on the other hand, thought her a native goddess because of her rich exotic apparel, and thus was awestruck to hear her speak his language. In the end, the audience had the impression that Miranda left her foster world somewhat reluctantly, even though she seemed excited by the prospect of marrying

Ferdinand and returning with him to Naples (Interview with Willy Semler).

In the case of Caliban's "discovery" by Stephano and Trinculo the difference between both worlds seemed to confirm the European colonial view of natives: Caliban was a naive, if boisterous, being who could not but adore the Europeans (first Prospero and then Stephano and Trinculo) as gods. Consequently, La Bordada's Caliban became the center of the play's farcical mood. His hatred of Prospero, his rebelliousness, even his plotting were never meant to be taken seriously. Alikí Constancio, one of the actresses playing Gonzalo, maintained that the farcical interpretation of Caliban respected Shakespeare's original intention for the character:

Caliban is the most entertaining character of *The Tempest*. In our interpretation he was a little vicious, half animal, half human, because he was not civilized and so had retained his half-apish form. Rodrigo [Muñoz] always played him half-naked, covered with mud. But he also was very funny, he liked to play tricks. That's why he always got in trouble with Prospero. He would explode firecrackers behind his back and things like that, and he was always arguing and fighting with Prospero, but you could see that he was a really noble inside. His relationship with Prospero was that of a very difficult, rebellious son with a rather stern father.

(Personal Interview)

Here, as in Brathwaite, is the picture of Caliban as the Latin American "pícaro," the trickster ready to play practical jokes on his master. As Caliban's "rather stern

father," Prospero in Semler's production became an omnipotent director of the action with the "black" Ariel as his obedient stage manager. After several rehearsals, Héctor Viveros, the actor playing Prospero, came to the conclusion that his character enjoys his magical powers immensely and so feels rather sad that he has to return to Milan:

I found out that Prospero is happier in the island than he was in his dukedom because back there [in Milan] he was a common mortal. In the island [Prospero] has absolute power. And that also explains why he wasn't really interested in the temporal power he had as a duke. He has to leave a little sad that he will lose his magic powers.

(Personal Interview)

Viveros worked hard at Prospero's abjuration speech to show his character's attachment to the island and to the inhabitants that received him so warmly. The result, Semler reported, had a particularly touching effect: "the audience was teary-eyed when Ariel and Prospero said good-bye, partly because Ariel sang a really beautiful song"

(Personal Interview). On the other hand, Viveros confessed that he had a hard time relating to Prospero's more serious side:

Whenever he thinks about the world outside the island, Prospero becomes a very complex character. He feels this strong pain at his brother's betrayal, and he wants that pain to end. He needs to have his brother apologize and truly repent to stop his pain. And there's also the serious side to Prospero, the side Miranda gets to see.... He becomes so detached from what is going on sometimes that he is god-like,

that [his attitude] is difficult to understand as an actor.

(Personal Interview)

Aliki Constancio remembered that the group was ambivalent about Prospero's detachment: "Sometimes, we weren't sure who was worse, the bad guys [Antonio, Sebastian] or Prospero. He could be so coldly inhuman" (Personal Interview). Viveros chose to tone down Prospero's anger in favor of a more serene, wiser, controlled--and controlling--Prospero:

On the island, Prospero cannot be but a wise, happy master.... Prospero definitively is saved from his hate by living on the island. Ariel's love saves him. He tells Prospero to forgive his brother because he loves Prospero and does not want him to suffer anymore, even though that means Prospero will leave the island.

(Personal Interview)

Semler conceded that the emphasis La Bordada gave to the positive side of Prospero made the penitent scenes of Alonso's court seem exaggerated, even improbable. Constancio, who played Gonzalo every other night, explained the sadness of the court scenes as an error in judgment by the group:

The two bad guys [Antonio, Sebastian] were evil in a melodramatic way but their repentance was also sudden and so it showed the power of Prospero's magic. What was much more complex was the penitence the king had to go through during the play. We made him so desolate that the comic situations brought about by my character were not funny. The court scenes had no humor in them; they did not agree with the general mood of the play.

(Personal Interview)

The defects of the production did not deter the flow of young people who every day filled the 1500-seat amphitheater expecting a comedy. Constancio thought the attendance spectacular because "young people think Shakespeare is boring and dense. Our interpretation must have been entertaining" (Personal Interview). In reality, the public who enjoyed La Bordada's *Tempest* were those who had had little contact with Shakespeare and so had very few preconceptions of what his plays should be like.

Critical reception.

Scholars and purists condemned La Bordada's *Tempest* as deplorably shallow. For example, Ramón Núñez, actor, theater professor and director of post-graduate studies at Universidad Católica's School of Theatre, called Semler's production "one big joke" ("una chacota"), and remembered with some amusement the shock and indignation of one of his colleagues during opening night:

Shakespeare is an addiction for those of us who know him, and so we tend to be sensitive towards odd interpretations.... Some [people] become vain in their knowledge of Shakespeare and believe it can only be done in a lofty way. So after opening night one offended professor told Willy: "Shakespeare would have never let this production open." And Willy answered, "Give me Shakespeare's number so I can ask him how he would have done it," which I thought very ingenious and very much to the point. Even if I did not agree with Willy's interpretation, Shakespeare is so good that he can stand almost anything.

(Personal Interview)

Implicit in Núñez "disagreement" with Semler's interpretation lies his strong disapproval of *The Tempest* as a ludic experience. As a professor of the history of classical Greek and Roman theater and a constant visitor to London and Stratford-on-Avon, Núñez considers "circus theatre" too shallow to express the depth and range of emotions and situations present in Shakespeare's plays: "*The Tempest* is one of Shakespeare's major works; its dialogue cannot be replaced by circus business, it impairs the message," he remarked during the interview. Núñez also found the actors too young and inexperienced for a Shakespearean play:

There are actors and actors for Shakespeare. You don't have heart surgery with a witch from Talagante [a village in rural Chile], and neither should you put on a Shakespeare play but with professional players and professional directors. I have done Shakespeare only with those students that were **extremely** talented.
(Personal Interview)

In an interview ten days later, Semler laughed at the charges of silliness and pointed out that the group's work had been anything but superficial or inconsequential. He, moreover, found fault in his critics' accusation that *The Tempest* had been inaccurately interpreted:

So *The Tempest* turned out to be a revelry, a carnival of joy and fantasy and not [a play] about Prospero's moral struggle. And we had fun doing it, and the audience liked it and danced to our music. Well, that's unforgivable! In this country, a humorous, light Shakespeare is

inconceivable: it can be grave and complex, or post-modern and snobbish, but never carefree.
(Personal Interview)

The open-air theater, the live music and the beautiful warm weather contributed to the general good feeling Semler considered the essential context for the celebratory mood of the play: "*The Tempest* is a celebration of love and forgiveness. It was important that we extend this celebration to our audience by making it a party in which everyone can participate" (Personal Interview).

Newspaper critics--like the general audience--did not seem to care about the disparity between the more dramatic court scenes and the comic business of Ariel and the spirits, Caliban's plot and the lovers' first encounter. On the contrary, they laughed heartily with the situations scholars found outrageous, danced with the music of the island's spirits and wrote sympathetic reviews. Three extracts from some of these reviews will suffice to illustrate the popular response to Semler's production. For the magazine *Apsi*, Juan Andrés Guzmán praised the sensuous rhythm of the play's music:

The latest from Semler is a Shakespearean rap. In the production of *The Tempest*, made with students graduating from the School of Theater of the Catholic University,... Prospero invokes his spirits with a pulsating melody and the spirits [of the island] hypnotize with pelvic movements. The mixed rhythms and the tropical setting invite the spectator to move his hips to follow the beat.

After the opening night in the Anfiteatro Griego Parque Juan XXII, Claudia Ramírez, staff writer for *El Mercurio*, reported on how *The Tempest* pleased its audience by mixing color, music and movement:

Comic scenes abound in *The Tempest*, and La Bordada has stressed this by producing a colorful play. The costumes combine classical dress for the outsiders and multicolored primitive attire for the islanders, which is intensified by the white face makeup.... This display of colors is accompanied by Afro-Cuban music by a trio composed of a sax, an electric bass and drums. The ritualistic acting emphasizes emotion, and the players' rhythmic movements engage the spectator and keep him interested in the story.

("La Sabiduría de Shakespeare")

Finally, Leopoldo Pulgar, from the popular newspaper *La Tercera*, gives his critical approval to the production:

[Semler's] version includes colorful costumes and live music with such rhythms as rap, reggae, salsa, bolero and others, plus impromptu acting. The production fulfills its purpose: it is an entertaining way to know Shakespeare from a modern perspective. A good way to spend a week-end evening.

On the whole, Semler's *Tempest* did not soar to the heights of Vidiella's, which could have been "presented in Buenos Aires or even Europe." But then, it never intended to be anything but a humble try at a Shakespearean play by amateur actors.

Chapter Two: Venezuelan Production.

Venezuelan Theater.

Modern Venezuelan theater began in the 1940's with the migration of distinguished theater people from all over Spanish America to Caracas. From the Dominican Republic came the Spaniard Alberto Paz y Mateos; from Mexico, Jesús Gómez Obregón; from Argentina, Juana Sujo and Francisco Petrone; from Chile, Horacio Peterson. These foreigners promoted the performance of the latest European playwrights, introduced Stanislavski's method of acting, and stressed the importance of theater as spectacle, forming a modern generation of costume, lighting and set designers. Most importantly, these founders of the contemporary Venezuelan theater started independent theater groups which would be responsible for most of the theatrical production of the next thirty years (the Chilean Horacio Peterson's group Ateneo de Caracas, for instance, later gave birth to Rajatabla). In contrast to the pattern of other Latin American countries, the Universidad Central de Venezuela only offers amateur theater and the Venezuelan government started its own theatrical company, La Compañía Nacional, only in 1984. Professional theater in Venezuela, then, rests in the hands of independent companies, even though most of them are at least partially subsidized by the state.¹

Formed in 1971, Rajatabla has become Venezuela's most successful independent theater group and one of the best known in Latin America. Seeking to reach audiences beyond those who can afford to pay full ticket price, the company holds performances for residents of working-class neighborhoods in Caracas. It also conducts yearly nationwide tours of its current productions. It proudly supports theater workshops for students (Talleres Nacionales para Estudiantes y Jóvenes) and has created a dancing company, Rajatabla Danza. The group has also participated in radio, television, and film productions. Finally, Rajatabla has sponsored the Festival Internacional de Teatro de Caracas since 1974 and participated in international festivals in Latin America, North America, Europe, and Australia.²

The story of Rajatabla would not be complete without a paragraph about its director of twenty-one years, Carlos Giménez. Giménez was born in Argentina and went into exile in Venezuela in 1967. He was the founder of Rajatabla and the head of the Festival Internacional de Teatro de Caracas. He was declared Best Director by the Venezuelan critics twelve times and voted Best Director in the Festival de Ciudad de México in 1989. He was awarded the Premio Nacional de Teatro de Venezuela in 1990, the highest distinction given by the Venezuelan government. In 1991 the president of Colombia gave Giménez the Orden Nacional al Mérito, and named him Comendador de Colombia.

He was invited to direct in many countries including the former Soviet Union, Italy, Mexico, and the United States. Above all, Giménez was the moving force behind Rajatabla, a taxing dictator who nevertheless had the absolute devotion of his company. He became famous for provoking the bourgeoisie with controversial productions, for "breaking the rules," and he earned the title of "Maestro" by producing innovative works of the highest quality. At his premature death in 1993, he was mourned throughout Venezuela with eulogies, and a journalist published a book on his thought, *Carlos Giménez: Espacio y Tiempo*.

The 1987 production by La Compañía Nacional.³

Textual translation.

The translation of *The Tempest* enacted by La Compañía Nacional in 1987 and, four years later, by Rajatabla was an adaptation as well as a translation. At the behest of Carlos Giménez, Ugo Ulive, a scholar and seasoned translator of Shakespeare, agreed to cut about thirty minutes of the original play for the sake of the Venezuelan audience, who would be put off by the more obscure passages of the play. Gerardo Luongo, who played Adrian in this production, justified Giménez and Ulive's concern about audience response:

Ugo Ulive cut the play thinking about the people that usually go to see the plays by La Compañía Nacional. The theater is in the historic part of [Caracas], in the west side. It is an old theater that had been closed for many years, and when the company opened it, it

was with the idea of making theater for the working-class neighborhoods on the hills. That is, an audience accustomed only to soap operas, people that cannot sit for long watching some poetic classic. They would be bored.

(Rodríguez, Personal Interview)

Accordingly, many speeches were trimmed, particularly in the scenes of the tempest, the plotting of Antonio and Sebastian and the final meeting of all the characters. Further, most of the business between Adrian and Gonzalo at their arrival to the island was removed, but not Adrian's admiring outbursts at the beauty of the island. The blessing of the goddesses Juno, Iris and Ceres were also considerably shortened. Most importantly, the play was performed without breaks or pauses, which reduced its running time to one hour and fifteen minutes (Rodríguez, Interview with Gerardo Luongo).

Ulive decided to render the whole play in prose, with the exception of the songs and the rhyming couplets that signalled the ends of scenes. Gímenez found the prose rendition of Prospero's last speech too shallow, and asked Ulive to rewrite it, this time in verse (Rodríguez, Personal Interview). Unfortunately, the published version just has his original prose translation.

Ulive interpreted the poetry of the original by giving his prose translation rhythm and sonority through alliteration, assonance and consonance. Most importantly, he tried to modernize the language to make it sound as modern and direct as it must have been for a spectator in

Shakespeare's time. (Ulive, prologue to *La Tempestad* 6).⁴ Later, Ulive remembered that the Venezuelan critics were not particularly pleased by the "normalcy" of the play's language, and he defended his translation thus: "To make Shakespeare outside of England one must have a concrete translation. I wrote for that production in 1987, for a Venezuelan audience. I was not trying to do the ultimate translation of *The Tempest*!" (Rodríguez, Personal Interview). Again, the objective was to avoid alienating the average patron of La Compañía Nacional.

Interpretation of the text.

I imagine Prospero exiled in
Jamaica or in the island of
Margarita.

--Gerardo Luongo, actor playing
Adrian in *La Tempestad*.

Giménez focused on the conflict of the European, rational world of Prospero and the magical world of Ariel and Caliban. Alonso and his court became foreign invaders, Prospero a foreign exile. Miranda, on the other hand, had gone "native" by living so long in the enchanted island, and so, by falling in love with her, the invading Ferdinand established the first true bond between both worlds.

A profound admirer of theatrical illusion, Giménez utilized every possible trick to convey the magic of the island:

This production was highly sensational. The square stage was modified so that one side would look like a ship while the rest was the island. Prospero's house was a long metallic structure measuring approximately 16 meters, with an elevator at the back. Everything else was wooden or at least brown, you know, earthy. There were ropes hanging everywhere so that the spirits could fly from here to there on the stage. Ariel's entrance was spectacular: he would traverse almost the whole theater hanging from a rope, right above the audience's heads. Smoke constantly made the island seem mysterious, and when Ariel was on stage strange fires would be turned on.

(Rodríguez, Personal Interview with Gerardo Luongo)

In a later interview, Giménez explained that he viewed the setting not as mere decoration, but as a dynamic element, almost an additional character in the play: "I am constantly going back to nature for my props and sets. I work with sand, water, fire and wood to make the poetry of the text come alive on stage" (Moreno Uribe, Carlos Giménez 48). Giménez also considered the production's emphasis on spectacle as fitting the author, the play, and the cultural context in which it was presented:

We should not shun effects or theatricality.... Shakespeare himself, particularly in *The Tempest*, used artifice to convey his message. Also, Latin American theater should not limit its expressive potential, because that is not our way. We cannot disregard the baroque world in which we are submerged. Think about Maracaibo, a supermodern city five minutes from the most primitive of peoples [the Motilon and Guajiro Indians]. And people go from supermodern to primitive as if it were the most normal thing in the world. To summarize, I would say that to express the bizarreness of

our existence, in theater we should be close to the atmosphere of García Márquez's literature.⁵
(Moreno Uribe, *Carlos Giménez* 46)

Giménez may have simplified the text of the play to make it more digestible for the audience, but he also made a careful effort to transfer the power of Shakespeare's poetry into incongruous images which reflected the world of the Latin American audience. Moreno Uribe noticed, for example, that Giménez' recreation of Stephano and Trinculo in the image of Charlie Chaplin made the audience understand the farcical quality of their otherwise menacing exchanges with Caliban ("*La Tempestad Tiene Su Mensaje Político*").

In terms of the plot, the focus shifted from Prospero's revenge to the union of Ferdinand and Miranda, and to Caliban's comic encounter with the Europeans Stephano and Trinculo. As representatives of a young generation yet untainted by power, Miranda and Ferdinand recreated Shakespeare's lovers' love against all odds--in this case not only Prospero's objection, but also their cultural difference. And while the audience was captivated by this encounter of true minds and hearts, Giménez drove home the message that dissimilar cultures can effect such a union if they approach each other with honesty and respect (Rodríguez, *Interview with Daniel López*).

In contrast to the alliance and commitment of the lovers, Caliban's engagement with Trinculo and Stephano

simultaneously revealed Caliban's servility and stupidity, and the ignorance and greed of the Europeans. Although the actors played these scenes for laughs, they were also keenly aware of the power struggles in the subtext:

Violence and corruption are the founding stones of this drama. So are freedom and the need for justice. And they all cross in Caliban's story, in his struggle against Prospero, in his malice and deformity. He is the image of the New World lost to foreign oppression.

(Rodríguez, Personal Interview with Daniel López)

Thus, Alexander Milic played his Caliban as a mirror image of the play's working class audience: an ingenious survivor who used servility to ensure if not his comfort, at least his existence. Thus, Caliban's attempt to rape Miranda, his acceptance of Stephano as master and his plot to kill Prospero represented "career moves" rather than instinctive impulses derived from a degenerate nature. Milic's Caliban had a brain, and tried to use it to his advantage as much as he could (Rodríguez, Personal Interview with Ugo Ulive). Despite its malice, this depiction of Caliban again connects Shakespeare's monster with the shrewd trickster hero of Latin American folklore.

Prospero was played mostly as Miranda's father rather than as the wronged Duke of Milan. He, along with Alonso, Antonio, Sebastian, and even Gonzalo represented an old generation corrupted by power and incapable of escaping the world of court intrigue. As Miranda's father,

Prospero did not concern himself so much with recuperating his dukedom or even being revenged on Antonio and Alonso, but with securing his daughter's future after his death. Ulive defended this interpretation of Prospero by quoting the play:

One of the first things Prospero says [to Miranda, as she laments the shipwreck caused by his tempest] is "I have done all this for you, my daughter." He is old, he knows he will die soon. What is to become of his daughter in the island? He needs to get her married, and so he uses his magic powers to make her meet Ferdinand.

(Rodríguez, Personal Interview)

The climax in this production, then, did not come with Prospero's decision to forgive his enemies in the last act, but with the celebration of Miranda and Ferdinand's union by the goddesses Juno, Iris and Ceres. In fact, the portrayal of Prospero as a wise and rational man required that he had forgiven his enemies **before** the play even started. Prospero did not use his magic to chastise Antonio and Alonso but to make them repent their sins. So, by obtaining an alliance with Alonso he secured Miranda's life and position from any further attempt by Antonio (Rodríguez, Personal Interview with Ugo Ulive).

Critical Reception.

La Compañía Nacional had its first big success in Caracas with *La Tempestad*. It ran for approximately two months, attracting 40,000 spectators. Reports described it as "entertaining," "outstanding," and "dignified"

(Rodríguez, Interview with Gerardo Luongo; Interview with Ugo Ulive). The critics hailed Alexander Milic as the season's best actor for his role as Caliban (*Escenarios de dos mundos* 4:262). Giménez was commended for getting the cast in shape because, as "many of them were television actors with no theatrical experience," it had been expected that their theatrical performance would be only average (Rodríguez, Interview with Gerardo Luongo). The carefully designed set brought about the most diverse responses: one critic, for instance, considered it excessive and distracting while another thought it "succeeded in recreating the magico-realistic universe to powerfully accentuate the action of the play" (*Escenarios de dos mundos* 4:270). On the other hand, the critics unanimously considered the overall production "well rounded" and "refined" (*Escenarios de dos mundos* 4:273).

Finally, Edgar Antonio Moreno Uribe's review of the production approves of Giménez' magico-realistic setting as well as of his political interpretation of the play:

Shakespeare has turned Latin American in this new work by Carlos Giménez. Small wonder, since the Bard wrote his play just as the New World was being colonized. Shakespeare, no doubt, furnished himself with the news that came from the newly discovered islands, about monsters, about beautiful natives, about the marvelous reality of the Caribbean.

...
In short, *The Tempest* is an agreeable, entertaining but also highly didactic show; behind its story of princes and dukes, we can

find a larger picture: America and its
subjected peoples.

("La Tempestad Tiene Su Mensaje Político")

Four years later, Giménez and Rajatabla heightened this
image of *The Tempest* as the drama of the beginnings of
America to surprise the audience of New York City's
Delacorte Theater.

**The 1991 production by Rajatabla at the New York
Shakespeare Festival and at the Zellerbach Theater,
Philadelphia.⁶**

In this play, Carlos Giménez
conflated Prospero's magic with
that Shamanistic vision
characteristic of Rajatabla,
that ritualism we have given to
Latin American theater from
Bolívar to *La Tempestad*.
--Juan Carlos Núñez, composer of
the production's music.

The *Tempest* that Carlos Giménez and Rajatabla took
to the New York Shakespeare Festival and then to
Zellerbach Theater in Philadelphia was based on Ugo
Ulive's adaptation for La Compañía Nacional, and lasted
the same hour and fifteen minutes.⁷ This time, Giménez
divided the setting into three acting areas: at the back
of the stage, an imposing, intricate metal scaffolding
became the maze where Alonso's court got lost.⁸ Daniel
López (Caliban) explained the enormous metal construction
as Prospero's "project" on which the isle's inhabitants
(Prospero's slaves) constantly labored. A construction
crane was fitted on the top of the scaffolding to carry
Ariel through the air in a harness.

An immense pre-Columbian head half clouded by a permanent mist (as Prospero's cell) took a third of the mid-stage space. The head would slide open from time to time to expose Prospero/Shakespeare spying on the other characters through a telescope and writing down their dialogue, that is, writing *The Tempest*.

Pale sands crossed by silver rivers made up the foreground. Here Caliban lived on a squalid-looking zinc palm tree and here he met Trinculo and Stephano. This part of the stage also served as the site for Miranda and Ferdinand's masque and for Prospero's farewell to his magic, at which point he gave Ariel his finished play (Rodríguez, Interview with Daniel López).

The original music composed by Juan Carlos Núñez played an important role, as it interpreted the text's "sounds and sweet airs" alternatively as frightful ululations echoed by the calls of Ariel and his followers or harmonious melodies to match the rational world of the Europeans. For the second half of the play, starting with the masque, Núñez introduced melancholic tunes to parallel Prospero's slow progress towards death (Rodríguez, Interview with Juan Carlos Núñez).

As for costumes, Prospero and Miranda wore loosely fitting creamy cotton and linen clothing fitting the tropical setting of the island. At times Prospero would don a big straw hat similar to the ones that distinguished

the natives of the island from the spirits, who were "coco rapado" (had their heads shaved). The half-naked Ariel usually remained attached to the crane, but would disconnect himself to produce Prospero's shows for Alonso's court and for the lovers. The bulky, bearded Caliban wore an old ratty bandana on his head and no shirt with his faded rolled-up pants to evoke a dirty street person and so to indicate his complete dispossession by Prospero (Rodríguez, Interview with Daniel López).

King Alonso's men dressed in long, heavy black velvet capes and Spanish helmets to signal their roles as invaders of Giménez' Utopian tropical island. The notable exception was Ferdinand, who got rid of the cape and the helmet early in the play to show his handsome figure and justify Miranda's falling in love at first sight. As for the clowns, Trinculo was dressed as a chef, hat and all, and even tried to cook some concoction on stage for the drunken Stephano, who grinned constantly to show his missing teeth (Rodríguez, Interview with Jesús Araujo).

Interpretation of the text.

With *The Tempest*, Carlos Giménez took the portrait of South America to North America.
--Gerardo Luongo.

The 1991 production by Giménez and Rajatabla emphasized the present and past colonial relationship of Latin America to the First World. This time, however, the "magico-realistic" setting by Marcelo Pont-Verges carried

Giménez' message to the mostly non-Spanish speaking audience of the Delacorte. Five years after participating in *La Tempestad* as Caliban, Daniel López reminisced on how the setting typified the play's cultural conflict:

There were only two important elements in the setting: one was an immense Guaco head, a pre-Columbian stone head which served as Prospero's laboratory.... Behind that was a modern metallic construction that was being constantly worked on by Prospero's slaves. [Prospero] was constructing a ship that he would use to go back and re-conquer his lost honor. This modern construction had an enormous yellow crane that transported Ariel through the stage, so he was tied to Prospero's project.... It was the confrontation of the mythical pre-Columbian world and the modern, industrialized world.
(Rodríguez, Interview)

While the set evoked the past encounter of Europe and America, it also reminded the audience of the contemporary clash between the North and the South of America. Jesús Araujo (Ferdinand) explained the subtle connections Giménez made between the past and present oppression of Latin America:

The idea of having Prospero's office inside this pre-Columbian head was to show how the Western culture is invading our roots--and why not--the heads of Latin Americans.... [Also,] there was the scene where the king and his court cross the river in a "curiara" [canoe], and suddenly Prospero freezes them in the exact image of that picture of Washington crossing the river [Delaware]. The Americans felt insulted; they would say: "you are telling us to our face that we are invaders." Well, yeah, they ~~are~~ invaders. They have practically erased our culture.
(Rodríguez, Interview)

Caliban's habitat also reflected the connection between European conquest and colonization and life of the poor in contemporary Latin America: Caliban lived on a palm tree made out of pieces of old zinc roofing, evoking a typical Latin American slum ("favela") (Rodríguez, Interview with Daniel López). Prospero also had other slaves besides Ariel and Caliban, "spirits like monkeys inhabiting the Latin American jungle invaded by the West" (Rodríguez, Interview with Jesús Araujo). Some crawled everywhere and disguised themselves as rocks to hide themselves from Alonso's court, pre-figuring Caliban's encounter with Stephano and Trinculo (Tallmer).

Rajatabla did not consider the negative portrayal of Caliban as an offense to Latin America. Daniel López used a loose version of Rodó's thesis to defend Rajatabla's interpretation as a legitimate representation of some Latin American servile leaders, justly balanced by the fabulous creative potential of Ariel:

Shakespeare evidently saw us as we are, good and evil and magical and creative. He dared sketch what this New World was for him and he was quite right: Caliban nowadays would be one of our corrupt politicians, the type who bows to power and seeks the dollars of the multinationals. Ariel would be one of our talented artists, soaring the skies of the world to take his spiritual and aesthetic message to other cultures.

(Rodríguez, Interview with Daniel López)

Prospero, alienated by the ultra-modern metallic structures that formed his world, lived on a different

level from his two servants. Nevertheless, Giménez and Rajatabla interpreted Prospero's dependence on these two New World creatures as signaling the complex socio-political interaction currently existing between eminently materialistic, technological cultures and spiritual, natural ones:

Prospero is the great scientist-magician, the representative of European development and civilization that comes to us from Europe. He is Galileo Galilei, Goethe, Marco Polo, Shakespeare. He knows how to use technology but he needs Ariel's magic flight and Caliban's brute strength to finish his projects. And that, of course, is the prevailing social, political, and spiritual relationship of the First World to Latin America.

(Rodríguez, Interview with Daniel López)

Prospero's daughter represented the best of both worlds: carefully raised by her father, she was a learned woman capable of reigning over Milan and Naples with Ferdinand. Yet Giménez relentlessly subordinated her wisdom to her sense of wonder and her delight in the wondrous world of Ariel and Caliban. Thus, his Miranda actually became a pseudo-goddess of the island, as Ferdinand imagines her to be the first time they meet (Rodríguez, Interview with Jesús Araujo). As the symbol of the Utopian New World paradise, Miranda received Ferdinand with a purity of intention that ominously echoed the reception Caliban had once given Prospero, with all its negative consequences. This time, though, at least one invader of paradise bowed to the marvellous reality presented to him:

Miranda was the openness of heart and mind come from the West to America; she accepted this new world and became its queen. So she was also invaded by us, the Europeans. But Ferdinand was pure like her; he could connect with her and this new world. Those that came with me, on the other hand, were thieves and conquerors and their greed could only be balanced by our love scenes.

(Rodríguez, Interview with Jesús Araujo)

Since the interventions of Alonso's court had been considerably trimmed by Ugo Ulive's translation, the characters of Trinculo and Stephano had to embody European greed and ignorance in their interaction with Caliban. Consequently, the clownish farce of the original gave way to a caricature of Caliban as the sly Latin American bum dealing with two "ugly" tourists: one contemptuous and suspicious of the native (Trinculo), the other one overbearingly vulgar (Stephano).

Cultural clashes.

Rajatabla met many obstacles before opening night at the New York Shakespeare Festival. Some of the problems seem to have stemmed from cultural differences between Rajatabla's crew and the festival's staff. During his interview, Juan Carlos Núñez, one of Venezuela's most talented composers and the author of the music for *La Tempestad*, remembered with increasing indignation the American staff's refusal to comply with Rajatabla's needs:

The first problem we had in the New York Festival was that the theater lacked the technology needed to stage the production as we

had envisioned it. And that caused a cold, racist reaction from the people that were supposed to help us. They could not accept that our production was too complex for their resources. So they tried to convince us that the setting we wanted could not be done. But we had done it in our rehearsals in Caracas! The situation became so absurd that at one point Giménez told them, "Look, ~~we~~ are the underdeveloped ones, not you."

(Rodríguez, Interview with Juan Carlos Núñez).

The actor playing Alonso ratified Núñez' belief that the production could be done according to Giménez' specifications: "We rehearsed with a full set and sound tests in the Museum of Military Arts [in Caracas], and then we took everything to New York. The only thing missing was the sand" (Rodríguez, Interview with Germán Mendieta). However, if the staff of the Delacorte Theater had not anticipated a production of the dimensions *Rajatabla* needed, Giménez was also partly to blame for some of the technical problems because he decided to change some of the specifications for the set at the last minute:

When he saw his set in the Delacorte theater for the first time, Carlos [Giménez] started making changes to accommodate the set to the open space and the sun and the summer. He came up with some moving silver walks [that looked] like rivers under the sand for moving the "curiara" [canoe].

(Rodríguez, Interview with Germán Mendieta)

Still, most of the problems stemmed from cultural differences between the crews, some as small as when it was permissible to stop a rehearsal to take a coffee break

(allegedly, the American crew liked to pause every forty-five minutes). What constituted acceptable rehearsal hours became a major conflict almost resulting in physical confrontation:

Rajatabla got another crazy reaction when it rehearsed one night from twelve midnight to six in the morning. Giménez said to continue, so the group continued, and then we almost had to end up calling the police because the people in the theater decided that the only way to stop our rehearsal was to take our things off the stage.

(Rodríguez, Interview with Juan Carlos Núñez)

It is rather surprising that the Americans did not know that Latin Americans customarily keep very late hours, and that Giménez and Rajatabla did not know that working after hours is not as common in the United States as it is in Latin America. Most interestingly, these two crews worked together for months without once discussing their cultural and methodological differences.

Soon after the first rehearsals, Giménez discovered yet another technical problem Rajatabla had to solve to present a decent production: the size of the Delacorte Theater required actors to use wireless microphones, and no one in Rajatabla was used to working with them. Jesús Araujo remembered how anxiously the cast tried to master the microphones before the production opened:

We had lots of problems with the microphones. Giménez said we sounded horrible, either too hoarse or too shrill. So he decided we had to learn how to speak again, to find a new voice. It was hard to confront the audience without

having mastered the microphones completely. It wasn't easy to make the voice sound natural while you were making the exaggerated movements that huge stage requires.

(Rodríguez, Interview)

Once Rajatabla learned to use the microphones, a new problem arose: the people in charge of releasing Rajatabla's information to the press got the facts about the group confused four separate times, and every time Giménez had to call them to make them correct their mistakes (Rodríguez, Interview with Juan Carlos Núñez). This, of course, caused further tension between the two crews who had to work together to make the best production possible. Small wonder, then, in spite of an enthusiastic popular response, neither Rajatabla nor its critics were particularly satisfied with the production.

Critical Reception.

The American audience is the most provincial of the world. It just defines its world view from the perspective of its home, its nation. A culture is great when it understands and respects the existence of other cultures.

--Carlos Giménez.

Juan Carlos Núñez summarized what he considered the "sabotage" of a superior production of *The Tempest* as follows:

The key to this production was its magical tricks, the expression of that Shamanic reality that subverted the rational world of the Europeans. But we were curtailed by the lack of technical support, so the message could not be conveyed to the public. It all came down to

money, of course. The only way the efforts of Latin American artists are appreciated in America is if they produce a profit, as in the case of our [Latin American] paintings.

(Rodríguez, Interview)

As embittered as this judgment may sound, the fact remains that most critics complained about the sound of the actors' voices, and we should assume that their inexperience with the microphones had something to do with their deficiency.

Also, it is arguable that working with incomplete scenery can limit the expressive potential of a cast, particularly if the setting was an element crucial to the understanding of the production. Interestingly enough, Giménez' interpretation of *The Tempest* generated more negative reviews than the technical problems of the production. Most critics refused to acknowledge the interest in transforming Prospero's island into a symbol of both a Utopian and dispossessed Latin America. Still angry about the negative reviews five years later, Núñez illustrated the critics' cultural ignorance and prejudice by mocking the criterion they used to evaluate the Shakespeare Festival:

If I had to summarize the American critics' appraisal of the Shakespearean productions that summer, it would be: Brazil with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that drove everyone delirious because half of the cast appeared completely naked; a proper American production in "velvet" [doublet and hose], so reactionary that it could not have been surpassed in the England of

Margaret Thatcher; ah! and the Indians from the Amazonas [Rajatabla] with an absolutely crazy *Tempest*.

(Rodríguez, Interview)

Unfortunately, as far as *La Tempestad* was concerned, most American critics did write their reviews using the racist tone implicit in Núñez' sarcastic summary. The *New York Post*'s Jerry Tallmer, for instance, hardly disguised his scorn at the attempts of Rajatabla to tie the story of *The Tempest* to the past and present colonization of Latin America. He described the production as "nothing so much as a great howling laying-on 'effects' and socio-political subtexts," a mere "didactic Latin American re-interpretation" of Shakespeare's play. *La Tempestad* did not fare any better with the *Daily News*' Howard Kissel, whose article's subtitle ("Eclectic styles & mediocrity prosper in current productions of Shakespeare") illustrates Núñez complaint that "Americans try to reduce the most complex things to one line slogans" (Rodríguez, Interview). Summarizing the production as "glossy visuals, flashy effects, [and] conventional acting," Kissel went on to deplore the depiction of *The Tempest* as the "contrast between a corrupt Old World and a promising New one" by finding fault with every aspect of the production that stressed this motif. Kissel particularly resented José "Pepe" Tejera's "gruff and charmless Prospero," who, in

Kissel's view, should be "a man humbled but ennobled" by the end of the play, not "a Central American Willy Loman wearily off on a selling trip."

Both these critics obviously judged *La Tempestad* by the Western standards of what the production "had to be." Most revealingly, their failure to find appropriate referents with which to describe or even condemn Giménez' interpretation demonstrates their inability to understand his intent. Consider the following extracts from Tallmer's review, subtitled "It's a 'Tempest' in a theme park":

For the clowns, Trinculo and Estefano--oh, it's difficult enough for me to stay with Shakespeare's clowns...even in English; in Spanish it just seems like a gross rigadoon that will never end.

....
[The] vast Aztec head--if Aztec is the wrong culture, what the hell, it's the right idea--serves variously as a cave [and] a hiding place.

....
[Ferdinand] is one of those shipwrecked invaders --who here in this didactic Latin American re-interpretation become helmeted, black-caped Spanish conquistadors striding apace through the crablike peasantry.

....
Prospero...could be mistaken under his white blanket and straw hat as a rather taller peasant out of an Orozco mural or Pancho Villa movie (yeah, yeah, wrong cultures), and I got pretty tired before the end of his unceasing hoarse croak. I did quite completely dig something he said to Fernando, the lad who falls head over heels for Miranda: 'Un momento, Señor--vamoose.' Now, that's talking.
("Depraved New World")

Even if Tallmer is conscious of a lack of proper signifiers to describe the Venezuelan production to a mostly American audience ("if Aztec is the wrong culture....," Prospero as Pancho Villa), his weary and slightly ironic tone (the business with Trinculo and Stephano seems a "gross rigadon that will never end") sends the message that he did not take the production seriously, and neither should we, the readers of his review.

Not all reviews were negative, just as not everything about the production was deemed an awkward Latin American attempt at reinterpreting Shakespeare's text. All critics, for instance, reacted enthusiastically to Ferdinand and Miranda's love plot, and most were absolutely captivated by Nathalia Martínez' native Miranda (although Kissel found her "slightly vulgar"). The most sensitive review of all, George Robinson's "The Spell of Shakespeare," showed that Giménez interpretation could be completely accessible to the open-minded observer: the only critic to notice the similarity between Caliban's "tin palm tree" and "the shanties found in slums throughout Latin America," Robinson also caught the idea behind Prospero's gloominess:

Prospero...presides like an aging Hollywood director done up in trailing robes of white linen and hemp, a natural aristocrat, elegant and graceful. He dominates the production, and his gradual descent into melancholy as he fulfills the dream of a dozen years insinuates

itself through the second half of the performance as softly and penetratingly as the mists that billow from his cave.

That such an alert critic chose, for a change, to notice "the theatergoer's enthusiasm" for the play **in spite** of "the language barrier" corresponds with "Rajatabla"'s assessment of the response from its New York audience.⁹

Chapter Three: Mexican Production.

Mexican Theater.

Mexico boasts one of the most stable, prolific and enduring theatrical traditions in Latin America. The success of Mexican theater derives partly from its enormous audience (Mexico City alone has twenty-two million people, and it is only one of three cities with major theater activity), and partly from a system of government subsidy that encourages the work of numerous independent companies. Of the institutions supporting the theater, the Universidad Autónoma de México, the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, and the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social stand out as the most supportive of independent groups: they grant money in the form of prizes and they own several theaters with modern production equipment managed by competent crews. To receive these resources, all an independent company needs to do is have its production plan accepted by the institution. In contrast to the many commercial companies, these groups are not expected to turn a huge profit or even make up for the costs of the production.

Two other forms of theatrical production exist in Mexico besides the subsidized independent theater. One is the commercial, "entertainment" theater whose only objective is to make money and which mostly produces sure hits such as successful Broadway productions. Another is

the theater of those who--for political or private reasons--shun the "official" subsidized system and either produce discontinuous and precarious work or look for other sponsors such as private businesses. Up to 1992, the theater produced by Magdalena Solórzano belonged to the second category--she even called her company Por Amor Al Arte ("For Art's Sake") to stress its marginality from the "official" theater. To understand the circumstances surrounding Solórzano's four productions of *The Tempest*, then, one must realize that she managed to make Shakespeare for five consecutive years without financial aid from the state.¹

Magdalena Solórzano and Por Amor Al Arte.

Magdalena Solórzano formed the group Por Amor Al Arte in 1984. At the time the average age of its cast was eight years old. Solórzano trained them in acting, diction and pantomime. She had the children present scenes and short children's plays. Then, after two years of training, and seeing the competence of the children, Solórzano decided to present a spectacle for adults with scenes from Shakespeare in the Centro de Arte y Cultura of the Museo Universitario del Chopo in Mexico City, just to see how a Mexican audience would react to children enacting classics. Her young cast held audiences captive for the month that the production was allotted to run and the production received enthusiastic reviews. Solórzano became

convinced that Por Amor Al Arte could produce a full-scale Shakespearean play, and she decided on *Romeo and Juliet* because "the age of the main characters was close to those of my performers" (Letter to the author). The play was such a success that it was invited to the 1986 Festival Internacional Cervantino in Guanajuato and was filmed by TELEVISIA (Mexico's giant television corporation) and transmitted to all the nation as part of the series "El Gran Mundo del Teatro" ("The Great World of the Theater").² Solórzano repeated her small miracle in 1988 with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and for four consecutive years starting in 1989 with *The Tempest*. Solórzano admitted that even though the three reprises of the original 1989 production stood on their own, the last excelled because her cast had grown and matured. Also, this last time the play won a considerable grant from the Instituto Nacional del Seguro and the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes to play for three months at Mexico City's Teatro Tepeyac.

***The Tempest.*³ (An analysis of the 1992 production at the Teatro Tepeyac).**

Since Ariel and the spirits had several elaborately choreographed dances during the play (a dance symbolizing the rage of the natural elements, for instance, replaced Shakespeare's tempest scene), Solórzano favored a bare stage for the action. Standing high in the background, a black rock surrounded by shady bushes served as the

lookout from which Ariel and later Prospero presided over the actions of the court party. The changes in mood--from magical for Ariel and his spirits to realistic for the rest of the characters--were marked by changes in light and music: foggy and dim with deep-toned tunes for the spiritual world, bright and silent for the dialogues of the mortals. To recreate the rage of Prospero's tempest, composers Rey and Rosalío Solórzano mixed the *Ouverture de la Tempête* by Hector Berlioz with synthesizer sounds. As for the songs, a small choir of boys and girls singing "a capella" accompanied Ariel and the Greek goddesses, while only the drunken Stephano and Trinculo accompanied Caliban.

Ariel and his spirits dominated the action with their outlandish attire. Ariel, completely decked in gold, had iridescent wings that fluttered with breezes recreated offstage. His harpy costume consisted of a shimmering ebony cloak covered with dazzling black sequins. The spirits wore pearly tight-fitting outfits that covered them from head to toe and white masks covered by semitransparent veils over their faces. The barefooted goddesses wore Roman togas and glittering tiaras for their choreographed dance in honor of Miranda and Ferdinand. As for the actress playing Caliban, her endearing ugliness compared only to that of Disney's hunchback of Notre Dame: Caliban's hair was a dingy reddish wig and long metal

claws came out of her fin-like hands. The actress wrapped her body with a brownish cloth held in place by a rope and completed her costume with a long, ashy cloak and leather leggings.

Prospero wore a white tunic topped with a long scarlet robe. His sole adornment was a long iron gray pendant, which he used to control Ariel. The only time he used his magic staff was to summon the spirits to help him create his charmed circle. Like Prospero, Miranda was dressed in a snow-white flowing tunic, her long hair bedecked with wildflowers during the whole play.

King Alonso's court wore richly colored 17th century doublet and hose with matching feathered hats. Ferdinand stood out in ruby while the villains Antonio and Sebastian wore purple and black. The shortish Trinculo was properly wearing motley while the wiry Stephano kept his feathered hat but had gotten rid of his doublet and let the tails of his white shirt hang out.

Textual translation.

Solórzano based her adaptation on the 1961 edition of Luis Astrana Marín's translation of Shakespeare's complete works, which she considered very poetic and true to the original. (This was also the translation used and adapted by director Willy Semler).⁴ To adapt Astrana Marín's translation for a Mexican audience unfamiliar with the classics, Solórzano pared down a few of the play's

long speeches and changed some old-fashioned idioms. She then shortened the playing time considerably by replacing the tempest scene with a dance by Ariel and the isle's spirits, and by cutting the interventions of Adrian and Francisco, the scene where Ferdinand and Miranda play chess, and, most importantly, the epilogue spoken by Prospero--this she considered much too difficult for the young actor playing the part (Letter to the author).

Interpretation of the text.

The sense of the marvellous
presupposes a faith.
--Alejo Carpentier.

Solórzano confessed to being enamoured of the magic world depicted in *The Tempest*:

The WONDERFUL thing about this play is how its dream world becomes real when you put it on stage. Making magic out of a magical text is an incomparable pleasure. The layer of magic is so dense, it floats during rehearsals and you can almost touch it.

(Letter to the author)

Solórzano acknowledged it was "a challenge to accomplish that magic with beings of flesh and blood, not counting the minimal production budget," but she also believed that the play's magic had worked its charm on her production for good and evil:

I believe in the magic of *The Tempest*. When you rehearse this play you rehearse a ritual. You are invoking good and bad spirits. With us sometimes it was as if "someone" did not want the play to be presented. Some of the things that happened sound like old wives' tales. I don't know, maybe they were coincidences, I

don't know. Maybe all of it has a logical explanation.

(Personal Interview)

"Some of the things that happened" before Solórzano presented her last staging of *The Tempest* ranged from her constant and very upsetting fights with the "negative" characters Antonio, Alonso, and Sebastian (which, strangely enough, included an incident in which one of the theater's lights inexplicably fell and almost killed the boy playing Alonso) to the sudden flood of Solórzano's house followed by a strange invasion of pigeons, then spiders, and, finally, thousands of flies. For Solórzano, however, the worst "magical" effect that *The Tempest* had on Por Amor Al Arte was its disintegration: "After the [1992] season ended, a group that had stayed together for almost ten years dissolved 'by magic': one day simply ~~no~~ ~~one~~ came to rehearsal" (Letter to the author).⁵

Solórzano and Por Amor Al Arte worked hard at making the magic world of *The Tempest* believable to its audience. As Solórzano explained, for her the play became one more instance of Latin American "magical realism":

Above all, we tried to give [the play] a magico-realistic interpretation. We tried, obviously, for everything to seem real and true. That it was true that there is an ARIEL spirit which materializes, that CALIBAN exists and that he was born from a witch...true that a human being can create a tempest, etc., etc.

(Letter to the author)

As a result of this "magico-realistic interpretation," Ariel almost replaced Prospero as the central character of the play--not surprisingly, because the airy spirit was played by Solórzano's own son. The production stressed Ariel's charisma and grace as opposed to Prospero's severity and harshness. Prospero clearly commanded him, but he also felt a natural awe--maybe even fear--when dealing with his servant spirit. Omar Alejandro Solórzano, who played Ariel for four consecutive years, explained the dominance of his character over Prospero's:

Without Ariel there's no play. He makes the magic, that is, he does Prospero's dirty work for him.... I believe Ariel stays with Prospero because Prospero needs him. [Ariel] is wiser than Prospero: he tells [Prospero] he should forgive his brother. He actually saves Prospero from falling into evil by calming him down and softening his heart. Maybe [Ariel] cannot feel, but he understands.

(Personal Interview)

Paradoxically, Prospero's hatred and his need for revenge rescued his character from being swallowed by Ariel's charm, because Magdalena Solórzano considered *The Tempest's* moral messages equally important to the magic form of its world. For Solórzano, Shakespeare's last play teaches the audience the value of forgiveness, the error of ambition, and, above all, the hope for mankind's redemption through love (Letter to the author). Prospero, then, represented man as he wavers between good (Ariel) and evil (Caliban), with the island as a magic space where

he conducted and resolved his inner struggles. Juan José Martínez (Prospero) explained how his character overcame his hatred and "found himself"--as the wise Gonzalo intimates at the end of the play--once he buried his magic:

I was amazed at myself when I first saw the video [of the 1992 production]. I was so angry all the time, with Ariel, with Miranda, and of course with Caliban. I was always yelling orders.... Prospero felt quite old until he buried his magic wand. Then, as he got ready to go back home, I felt lighter, youthful, more like myself. I think it was because Prospero had found himself.

(Letter to the author)

Once Prospero let go of the island's magic, he became an affable, courteous man capable of all civility in his conversation with his former enemies. His happiness became obvious by his glowing smiles as he presented his daughter to Alonso's court. His time in the magical island was ended, and he felt ready to go back home and reap the fruits of his redemption (Interviews with Verónica Acevedo and Omar Alejandro Solórzano). Magdalena Solórzano later admitted that she had somewhat forced a happy ending for Prospero's strife by cutting out his melancholic epilogue, but she also affirmed that the text let her interpret Ariel's liberation as a symbol of the salvation of Prospero's own soul. Therefore, it just made sense to have a "happy Prospero" by the end of the play (Personal Interview).

Por Amor Al Arte considered the depiction of Caliban's character as the surest sign that Shakespeare had intended the play to be a comedy with a happy ending. As Ariel's symbolic opponent in the battle for Prospero's mind, Caliban did not stand a chance. All he could do is irritate Prospero and incite him to occasional evil acts, as Caliban's own punishment exemplified. Interestingly, when the cast characterized Shakespeare's monster's maliciousness, the first referent used was Caliban as socio-political symbol of the Latin American lower classes, "not so much evil...as ignorant":

Juan Carlos Solórzano (Stephano): Stephano and Caliban are unconscious, unlearned like the working-class people of Latin America...

Omar Alejandro Solórzano (Ariel): Right. If Caliban tried to rape Miranda it was because Prospero did not teach him about sexuality...

Verónica Acevedo (Antonio/Juno): Caliban is the antagonist of Latin America. He was not so much evil as he was ignorant. Prospero tried to civilize him, but he abused his trust. [On the other hand,] Caliban wanted to be his own man, but Prospero did not let him.

Omar Alejandro Solórzano: But, symbolically, Prospero could not let Caliban free because then he [Prospero] would be overcome by his bad side.

(Collective Interview with "Por Amor Al Arte")

At this point, Cosette Acevedo (Caliban) heatedly argued that Caliban was **not** Prospero's bad side, but Prospero's victim. Her view generated confused reactions from the

rest of the group, and the subject unfortunately shifted to a description of Ferdinand and Miranda's love. In a later phone interview, Cosette Acevedo justified her opinion by stating that the cast followed Magdalena Solórzano's stress on Prospero's point of view, but that since she had played "Prospero's antagonist," she had seen the happenings of *The Tempest* differently: she believed that if the cast could imagine "Caliban [as] some sort of grotesque representation of the working-class man ['hombre del pueblo']," then they would realize that "Prospero is the people's oppressor." Perhaps if Acevedo had pushed her point more aggressively as Por Amor Al Arte rehearsed the play, the production would have taken an interesting twist. Certainly, when I presented Magdalena Solórzano with *The Tempest*'s colonial subtext in a previous interview, she manifested curiosity and interest in learning more about productions that had set the play in modern Latin America.

Critical Reception.

We should not treat
children as if they were
mentally retarded.
--Magdalena Solórzano.

The average review of the 1992 *La Tempestad* understood Solórzano's intention to make a didactic "magico-realistic" production. As the two representative extracts below demonstrate, most of these critics describe their experience of the play as if its magic had been

real. The first extract was written for the newspaper *El Día*, the second for the film and theater magazine *Cine Mundial*:

This is a play where the imagination has no limits, full of magic. The spectator goes from one fantasy to the next through an enchanted way that seems eternal yet ends in our encounter with wisdom, or in other words, with learning how to forgive.

(Karla Reynel Jiménez, "La tempestad de Shakespeare, actuada por niños y adolescentes")

Fantastic characterizations [by the cast of "Por Amor Al Arte"], who make the audience feel that they are really living a tale that may not be about fairies, but still has a clear message and a happy ending.

(Pilar Flores Cortés, "Inició Ayer Temporada 'La Tempestad' Caracterizada por Jóvenes Unicamente")

A second more common type of review emphasized the age of Por Amor Al Arte's performers. Of these, only Leopoldo Meraz from the newspaper *El Universal* remained unimpressed by the fact that all players were nineteen years old or younger: although Meraz admitted the play had had "an excellent reception from the audience and the critics," he still dismissed the youngsters' work as merely "commendable" ("Por Amor Al Arte' acerca a los clásicos con la obra 'La tempestad'"). In contrast, the reaction of the rest of the reviewers ranged from the surprise felt by *Espectáculos'* Felipe Orso to the ardent praise of *Ovaciones'* Omar Cerecedo Uribe:

The interesting aspect of this production is that its 15 characters are interpreted by children and adolescents who study acting in their spare time. This does not diminish the quality of their work. On the contrary, the production impresses as well as entertains.

(Felipe Orso, "Shakespeare también para niños")

The acting level of the young performers of Por amor al arte rivals those of the best professional companies. Proof of this is their participation in last year's Festival Internacional Cervantino, where they were warmly received by its exigent critics.

(Omar Cerecedo Uribe "Las grandes obras de la literatura universal, interpretadas por niños")

The cast's age also gave rise to a series of articles on whether such "adult" texts should be taught at all to young children--an important subject for the average Mexican, who values morality in children's education. This scrupulosity was not new. In the years prior to the 1992 production of *La Tempestad* critic Gonzalo Valdés Medellín had already written two articles strongly supporting Solórzano's undertaking--implying that some sections of society disapproved of it. His first article appeared in 1990 in *Uno Mas Uno*, and stressed the professionalism of Solórzano's projects:

Magdalena Solórzano has demonstrated with all the repertoire of her corporation that each production has a basic aesthetic commitment that distances it from school productions: this is a professional group. At their own level, Por amor al arte can give lessons to many so-called professional adult groups that do not possess half of their creative honesty.

("Niños shakespearianos")

His second article came out in 1991 in the newspaper *El Nacional*. This time, Valdés Medellín anticipated the criticism of Por Amor Al Arte and refuted it by showing how the practice of classical theater could actually help children build moral character:

Solórzano formed Por amor al arte as a drastic response (an absolute NO) to children's theater, which habitually turns children into consumers of trivialities and easy sentimentalisms. The director took the bull by the horns: children possess the capacity and the sensibility to appreciate and digest Shakespeare and Molière.... Children can play to be actors so that, in time and through practice, they would understand what making theater really means and take the task maturely and responsibly.

("Vive Shakespeare")

In 1992, Magdalena Solórzano herself addressed the moralist critics in her interview for the annual book of theatrical productions sponsored by the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social. The interview, tellingly called "Por amor a Shakespeare" ("For Shakespeare's Sake"), was prefaced by a statement of Solórzano's lifelong belief that "official" culture had always wrongfully claimed classic theater as its patrimony:

The director declares she has the rebelliousness of poor people and believes that [Shakespeare's] poetry and his profound knowledge of humanity, of life and of other worlds belongs to everyone and not to a few privileged people.

(114)

In the context of this interview, the "few privileged people" meant adults. Citing the work of her young cast for the 1992 *Tempest*, Solórzano claimed that sometimes children could capture the essence of a classic better than grown-ups:

Who is closer to purity and idealism than young people? Youth is magic, and this is a play about magic. Shakespeare's pure love, we enact with innocent actors. Ariel's nobility of spirit was represented by a youth yet uncontaminated by envy and selfishness.... The chaste goddesses were interpreted by three girls who know that doing good is the only way.... Why not be 'opportunistic' and take the chance to nourish them with Shakespeare's wisdom through this play full of magic, comedy, romance, and beautiful images they can understand?

(116)

Curiously, the play that allowed Solórzano to prove the morally positive effect of classic theater on children and which even won her the approval of the "official" culture --as represented by the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes--also ended a lifetime enterprise. Still, there is an interesting postscript to the controversy over the propriety of Solórzano's work: five years later, the cast of *Por Amor Al Arte*, now all successful university students, claimed that their acting years gave them a discipline and a maturity most young people of their generation lack (Collective Interview with *Por Amor Al Arte*).

Audiences, on the other hand, never seemed to share the qualms of the overconcerned critics and thronged to the Teatro Tepeyac night after night for three months. Some had seen the work of Por Amor Al Arte before and knew what to expect:

Their presentations guarantee a vast audience for those that hire them because they attract spectators of all ages who are curious to see actors so young interpret such sophisticated plays as *The Tempest*, among others.

(Omar Cerecedo Uribe "Las grandes obras de la literatura universal, interpretadas por niños")

However, as Magdalena Solórzano explained later, many spectators either expected Shakespeare done by an adult company or a children's play, and came out delighted at the combination of both:

One of my biggest successes was attracting some of the adults that would NEVER go to see a Shakespearean play. They came to see us because they thought we did 'just children's theater' (nothing deep) and ended surprised at how entertaining and accessible Shakespeare could be.

(Letter to the author)

For eight years, the fresh interpretations of Shakespeare by Por Amor Al Arte succeeded in bringing in audiences that ordinarily shunned the "official" productions put on by La Compañía Nacional and the Universidad Autónoma de México. Solórzano thus rescued Shakespeare's drama from its categorization as a boring museum piece and gave Shakespeare back his title as a popular playwright.

Conclusion: Performing *The Tempest*.

In brief, the appropriations in this chapter show the diversity of interpretations the Latin American theater people have of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

The Chilean production by Tomás Vidiella opted for representing the traditional European (Prospero-centered) interpretation of *The Tempest*. Vidiella stressed Prospero's domination of the action by interpreting the Magus as an absolute megalomaniac.

The production also inserted itself into its socio-political context by focusing on Prospero's conflict between revenge and forgiveness. As Vidiella implied, Prospero's conflict reflected, at a personal level, the inner struggle of those Chileans who had been exiled under Pinochet's regime, and, at a political level, the ongoing national debate over the amnesty of Pinochet's Armed Forces.

Paradoxically, then, Vidiella's production gave a politically subversive interpretation to its main character's conflict while keeping the overall context of the play completely traditional. In truth, Vidiella only implied the subversion while flaunting the "Europeization" by, for instance, conspicuously hiring an English director. This may have to do with Vidiella's own "Arielization" (the fascination with everything foreign), already implicit in his identification with Prospero and

in his statement that his production was "fit to be presented in Buenos Aires or even Europe" (Personal Interview). On the other hand, the fact that Pinochet was still in power in 1989 probably also had something to do with Vidiella's "discreet" subversion. Whatever the reason, Vidiella succeeded in satisfying most Chileans by emphasizing that the only noble solution to Prospero's dilemma was reconciliation.¹

Working in a post-dictatorship environment, Willy Semler, unlike Vidiella, could afford the luxury of going against any norm. In fact, Semler clearly used La Bordada's production to counteract "official" versions of Shakespeare (in his interview, Semler explained he had been particularly bothered by Universidad Católica's 1992 *King Lear*). Semler's *Tempest*, then, "carnivalized" not only Shakespeare's original text, but the tradition of "how to do Shakespeare" in Chile.

La Bordada followed an established interpretive practice by focusing on the festival side of *The Tempest*.² Their interpretation consisted mostly of **inversions** of many of the traditional assumptions about Shakespeare's play. Most evident is their "Africanization" of all the aspects of the island--including Prospero and his magic.³ Consequently, at least for the duration of the play, Europe submitted to Africa. On the other hand, by choosing to set *The Tempest* in Africa, La Bordada

acknowledged that they could not find a correlative reality in their own folklore for the play's festival fantasy. Thus, they placed the action in a caricatured foreign culture, the Africa of Chilean comics. This immediately deprived the production of any colonial overtones it could have had if it had represented Africa realistically.

La Bordada also shifted the interest of the play from Prospero's conflicts to his two servants' tricks. Ariel made the audience dance in their places as he bewitched the members of Alonso's court. Meanwhile, the roguish Caliban (whose entrances, according to Alikí Constancio, were marked by loud applause and hoots from the audience) had the audience roaring at the mischievous jokes he tried to play on Prospero and with his funny imitations of his master. On the whole, Alonso's penance stood out as the only part of the play that did not fit the production's merry interpretation.

The Tempest by Giménez and Rajatabla set the action on a Caribbean island, thereby imbuing the play with past and present colonial meanings: Alonso and his court became Spanish conquistadors, and Caliban's "favela" was juxtaposed to Prospero's high-tech "project." Jesús Araujo explained that the pre-Columbian head serving as Prospero's cell best symbolized both the past and present "conquest" of Latin America: the head represented the

minds of Latin Americans being invaded by foreign ideas. Most interestingly, Rajatabla combined the theses of Rodó and Fernández Retamar: here we find Caliban both as corrupt opportunist and the oppressed masses; Ariel as Prospero's minion and the symbolic keeper of the ideal Latin America in the form of the manuscript Shakespeare/Prospero gives to him as farewell gift.

In this production, the story of *The Tempest* shifted from "Prospero as ex-Duke of Milan trying to regain his station" to "Prospero as Shakespeare recording the island's events into a play about the conquest of (Latin) America." The world of *The Tempest*, then, is not Shakespeare's invention, but a depiction of a marvelous reality. The most interesting implication of this interpretation would be that the culmination of Shakespeare's dramatic career (in Juan Carlos Núñez' words, "Shakespeare's swan song") is a play about the New World. Thus we come from Vidiella's Euro-centric production of *The Tempest* to an interpretation completely rooted in Latin America.

Finally, Magdalena Solórzano, like Vidiella, chose a traditional interpretation of *The Tempest* but stressed the importance of Prospero's redemption through love. Solórzano's focus came from her general background as teacher and as a devout Catholic.

By transforming *The Tempest* into a play about Prospero's salvation from hatred and resentment through the pure love between two young people (Miranda and Ferdinand), Solórzano emphasized the importance of letting the innocence of youth teach even the wisest of adults. This, of course, not only points to the exemplary work of Por Amor Al Arte's children itself, but to Rodó's contention that Latin America's youth holds the key to its future. After all, in this production, Ariel instigated Prospero's salvation. That this redemption happened in a magical world again points to the felicity brought by seeing the world as children do, or at least that is how the audience of Solórzano's *Tempest* understood the story.

For Solórzano and Por Amor Al Arte, however, the fantastic world of *The Tempest* had a real dimension: enacting the play meant living the reality illustrated in "magico-realistic" accounts. In contrast to Rajatabla, who just depicted the "magic" of the New World in their *Tempest*, Por Amor Al Arte believed they had opened the door to a magic reality that, for a time, pervaded their everyday lives.

Solórzano's production may seem, in many respects, "inferior" to the other three analyzed here (she had a traditional interpretation ~~and~~ an amateur cast, for example). I firmly believe, though, that only her production illustrates the very "Latin American" trait of

surviving in a hostile environment through determination and ingenuity. For years, Solórzano worked alone, supported by only a few of the cast's parents. Her work was doubted, criticized and unacknowledged by the "official" culture. While Vidiella and Giménez had money for translators, and costume and set designers, Solórzano adapted the play, helped make the costumes and built part of the scenery herself. While Semler's project was supported by one of Chile's most renowned universities, Solórzano and her group had to work in a range of places (they moved from improvised stages in libraries to the set stages of cultural institutes to the immense open spaces of museums) until the Mexican government offered her a stable stage in the Teatro Tepeyac. To use a metaphor that would please her, Magdalena Solórzano's work exemplifies the artistic spirit of Ariel making magic out of nothing.

REPRESENTING *THE TEMPEST*

Each section of this dissertation concludes with a brief comparison of the works analyzed there. The first section stresses the similarity of *The Tempest's* nondramatic appropriations, the second the differences between the play's various dramatic appropriations. But what, overall, relates the two types of appropriations to each other?

As I intimated in the general introduction ("*Cannibalizing The Tempest*"), not all Latin American artists respond to the play in the same manner. The appropriations in this dissertation, however, repeatedly approach the play using similar strategies. Previous criticism has discussed these appropriations primarily as responses to *The Tempest's* colonialist subtext. My introductory summary of the four most commonly appropriated episodes shows that, for the most part, Latin Americans are concerned with the master and slave relationship between Prospero and Caliban (see "*Rewriting The Tempest*"). We have seen that all the writers except Rodó ally themselves in some way with Caliban. Roberto Fernández Retamar introduces us to the plurality of the Latin American Caliban by taking the role of historian. In "*Caliban*," Fernández Retamar carefully traces Caliban's name back to the Antillean Caribs, equates Caliban's

dispossession by Prospero to the plundering of Latin America by Europe, and, in a moderate but frank critique of Rodó's thesis, contrasts Caliban's present image to that of Ariel, the Latin American who has "sold out" to the European culture of Prospero. In the last part of his essay, Fernández Retamar, in an enthusiastic leap of faith, prophesies that Caliban will use his difference as a revolutionary weapon against Prospero.

Edward Kamau Brathwaite shows us Caliban as the comic and pathetic monster the drunken Stephano and Trinculo encounter in *The Tempest's* second act. For Brathwaite, Caliban's colonial condition is clownish and pitiful, so he depicts Caliban drunkenly dancing at the Carnival or futilely trying to break Prospero's linguistic code while writing a letter to his mother. Yet Brathwaite also sees Caliban as staggeringly human in his hope and determination to escape his imposed "monstruosity." We, therefore, admire Caliban's Sisyphean qualities.

Aimé Césaire highlights Caliban's sensitivity. The most famous example of this side of Shakespeare's earthly monster is his nine-line speech in Act 3 comforting Stephano about the safety of the island ("Be not afeard: the isle is full of noises,/ Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not"). Similarly, Césaire's Caliban so opens his heart and mind to the natural world that he

ends in complete symbiosis with the life forms of the island. This sensitivity to the natural world endows Caliban with a nobility of soul that tempers his anger and hatred, but, most importantly, opposes his character to the reductive, utilitarian Prospero. (Here again, despite the role changes, we find a version of Rodó's thesis). Linguistically, Caliban signals his sensitivity by being the only character who speaks verse in Césaire's adaptation of *The Tempest*. Ultimately, Caliban transcends his natural nobility by demonstrating he is also endowed with a high moral character. Césaire's Caliban, unlike Shakespeare's monster, refuses to kill Prospero.

In sharp contrast to Césaire's noble and ultimately moral Caliban, George Lamming's three Calibans (Teeton, Derek, and Roger) all hate Prospero with a violent passion that recalls Shakespeare's Caliban). In Lamming, Caliban's vengeful wishes come true: through his several alter egos, Caliban finally carries through his rape of Miranda, infecting her with a deadly disease that leaves her barren. Caliban also symbolically accomplishes his murder of Prospero by murdering Prospero's wife. Finally, Caliban frees himself from his enslavement by burning down the places that symbolize his bondage: the lodgings for immigrants and the Mona, a pub where colonials meet to get their "celestial liquor" from the English publican.

Finally, Rajatabla allied itself with the Calibanesque spirit by plotting to subvert the "Europeanized" notion of *The Tempest* through a "Latin American" version of the play. In "Performing *The Tempest*," I explain how Rajatabla accomplished this subversion by translating *The Tempest*'s fantastic world into the extravagant reality of Latin American "magical realism." Moreover, Rajatabla transformed Prospero into Shakespeare's alter ego--that is, Prospero was no longer a magician but a dramatist recording the events in the play for his own later rendition of New World reality, which he would call *The Tempest*. Rajatabla's plot succeeded in revolutionizing notions about Shakespeare's *Tempest* enough to catch several American critics off guard.

Ariel or Caliban?

As if it were impossible to find
another destiny than to live at the
mercy of the two great masters of the
world.

--Gabriel García Márquez.

A second significant strategy many Latin Americans use to appropriate *The Tempest* is to identify either Ariel or Caliban as a symbol of an ideal state of "Latin American" society. As I have shown, this vision began at the turn of the century with José Martí and Rubén Darío, but crystallized in José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* and was extended and contested by Fernández Retamar's influential

essay, "Caliban." As Iris Zavala argues in *Colonialism and Culture*, at the turn of the century this vision expressed the need of the Latin American colonies to break their colonial ties with Europe and create a culture distinct from that of North America. This ideal culture was first symbolized by Rodó's interpretation of Shakespeare's Ariel (Latin America as the youthful spirit of creative humanism), then by Fernández Retamar's interpretation of Shakespeare's Caliban (Latin America as subversion and difference). The fact that Latin America continues the metaphoric identification of different aspects of its culture with both Ariel and Caliban proves the relevance of both essays to the current Latin American debate over its identity.

Why do Latin Americans still debate their cultural identity? This question deserves a more complex answer than the one I can give here. I will, however, delineate two of the major problems that impede the cultural definition of Latin America: first, Latin America is composed of a multiplicity national and local cultures partially related by common languages, a common religion, and, in many cases, a common European heritage. As I have said before, the notion of Latin America as one homogeneous people has been imposed on the region, first by the European nations who colonized the New World, and

now by United States' imperialism. Typically it is Europeans and Americans who cannot understand why Latin America "cannot find itself."

The second problem stems from Latin America's mixed heritage. A substantial number of Latin Americans come from a mixture of races, and many of them have at least one European ancestor. How can Latin Americans honestly renounce their European heritage and claim that only their native American or African legacy counts? The fact that many Latin Americans have to acknowledge two, three, or sometimes more cultural backgrounds, one of which--to complicate things further--has repressed and hindered the others, makes the determination of a cultural identity uncommonly perplexing for the individual, let alone for nations or whole regions of Latin America. Perhaps most nondramatic appropriations of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* have come from the Caribbean because this is one of Latin America's most racially "mixed" regions, and thus, one of the regions in most need of a separate, non-European identity. The difficulty in establishing the "true" Latin American identity also explains how some can hail Rodó's version of the ideal Latin America without feeling they have betrayed the native American: Rodó chose to acknowledge his European legacy just as Fernández Retamar chose to acknowledge the American native and the African legacy in Caliban.

"Diamonds in all the riverbeds."

All creatures of that unbridled reality,
we have had to ask but little of
imagination, for our crucial problem has
been a lack of conventional means to
render our lives believable.
--Gabriel García Márquez on the bizarre
nature of "magical realism."

The third strategy these artists have used is to transform Shakespeare's European fantasy (Roman goddesses, spirits like fairies) into the "outsized reality" of Latin America, as expressed by "magical realism." As we have seen, the Cuban Alejo Carpentier coined the term "the marvellous in the real" to describe how in Latin America the marvellous is just part of everyday reality. The idea behind the term was made famous by Colombian Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Márquez in his novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, and renamed "magical realism." "Magical realism," then, describes a marvellous reality particular to those who live in Latin America. Outsiders do not understand or believe this reality and dismiss it as mere imagination. The literary expression of this outsized reality commonly includes accounts of communion with spirits or the dead, bizarre natural happenings such as four-year rains, incongruous images such as a woman simultaneously breastfeeding a child and a puppy, and paradoxes such as ultramodern cities surrounded by shantytowns.

Brathwaite admits in notes to *X/Self* that his "calibanisms" (the "dub riddims" of "nation language" and his bizarre conflation of images) correspond to the "magical realism" of the Caribbean, that his complex and playful poetry is rooted in the standard multi-layered experience of an average Caribbean person. For Brathwaite, then, only "magical realism" can express the essence--and the difference--of Caliban's experience.

I have contended in the chapter on Césaire that Caliban's symbiotic relationship with the world of the island is "magico-realistic." I believe the same holds true for Lamming when he punctuates life in San Cristobal with an established communion with the dead--The Ceremony of Souls. Most importantly, this ritual gives Teeton/Caliban the sense of closure that he needs to rebel against the Old Dowager/Prospero. And what could make the world of *The Tempest* more alive than experiencing it as a communion with its spirits, as Magdalena Solórzano and her company Por Amor Al Arte claim they did?

Rajatabla, on the other hand, worked long and hard to translate its members'everyday experience of "magical realism" into an eclecticism of dramatic images: Old World mythological beasts consorted with Prospero's Latin American "crablike" servants, the Spanish Conquest of the New World and neo-colonialism were conflated in a

Brathwaite-like image, and Caliban's "favela" barely stood against the background of Prospero's colossal "project."

"Limbo like me."

'Ban, 'Ban, Ca-Caliban
Has a new master: get a new man.
Freedom, high-day!
--"Caliban sings drunkenly,"
The Tempest, 2.2. 179-181.

Tupi or not Tupi, that is the question.
--Oswald de Andrade "cannibalizing" Hamlet's famous question to convince his fellow Brazilians to accept their Tupi ancestry.

The last strategy many of these appropriations favor when dealing with *The Tempest* is the "carnivalization" or--in Latin America--the "cannibalization" of Shakespeare's play.

Latin American defense of "cannibalization" as a legitimate form of assimilating other cultures began early this century with the publication of the Brazilian Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*. The spirit of the carnival/cannibal has since been established as part of some Latin American literatures, and goes hand in hand with "magical realism," as David K. Danow has demonstrated in *The Spirit of Carnival*.

Brathwaite, for example, "calibanizes" the principal characters of *The Tempest* and Prospero's language as well. In *Islands*, Brathwaite transforms the limbo from a slave dance into a freedom dance. Later, in "Letter Sycorax,"

Brathwaite/Caliban attempts to explode Prospero's language by writing a letter to his mother Sycorax using Prospero's latest ally, the computer. Most interestingly, Caliban's connection with Sisyphus signals him as a trickster-hero: Sisyphus is legendary for having cheated Death itself. So Brathwaite's Caliban will survive Prospero's domination by shrewdly learning how to use his enemy's tools better than him.

On the other hand, Brathwaite remains aware from *The Arrivants* to *Middle Passages* that Caliban's "carnival" time exists only momentarily in Prospero's official time. Thus, he tells us in his notes to *The Arrivants* that the limbo today is a popular tourist attraction; and in "Letter Sycorax" he explicitly connects Sisyphus's punishment with the grinding task of the colonial freedom fighter--constantly heaving up the rock of his condition only to have it fall back again. In *The Arrivants*, Brathwaite depicts the drunken Caliban dancing and singing the original freedom song from *The Tempest* during Carnival to illustrate the irony and the danger of taking Carnival time and power for *real* time and power. It also sadly tells us that all that Caliban has is Carnival. Brathwaite's festival hope and laughter are always balanced by his descriptions of Caliban's vulnerability and the wretchedness of his oppression.

In contrast to Brathwaite's sensitivity to the complexity of Carnival, La Bordada limited *The Tempest* to a revelry. Caliban reproduced the knavishness of the best trickster heroes of Latin American folklore. The caricatured African culture completely "cannibalized" the European Prospero and her daughter. The only part of the action that could not be translated to fun and games was Alonso's suffering.

Because George Lamming's carnivalization of *The Tempest* opposes the hope and humor of Brathwaite and La Bordada, I classify it as an example of the "carnavalesque grotesque," the representation of the bizarre as terrifying. The most obvious way Lamming distorts the established order of Shakespeare's *Tempest* is by fragmenting its characters and events. Also, as mentioned before, Lamming makes the three Calibans resist their colonial subservience through a series of violent acts such as rape, murder, and arson. Oddly, Lamming's "cannibalization" of the three colonial artists renders them more monstrous than Shakespeare (arguably) ever intended Caliban to be.

Finally, Rajatabla took "cannibalization" to a satiric level when it decided to mock the United States in a production meant to be shown in the United States. In a subversion parallel to La Bordada's, Rajatabla also

decided to replace the European culture implicit in the original play with a colonial culture.

Representing Latin America.

But even allowing for a history of
colonization, political bosses, and
tyrants, it was the promised land.
--from *Eva Luna* by Isabel Allende.

Besides the strategies I have mentioned here ("magical realism" and "carnivalization"/ "cannibalization," for instance), these works also raise issues important to Latin American culture and literature that I have barely touched on. The victimization of women, a constant in Latin American literature, forms an integral part of the work of both Brathwaite and Lamming. As I intimate by connecting the theses of Rodó and Fernández Retamar to popular Latin American songs, it would be interesting to know how deep the myth of Latin America as an ideal society has trickled down into popular culture. Also, the connection of the Latin American "pícaro" to Fernández Retamar's symbolic appropriation and to Shakespeare's Caliban could reveal important parallels between such seemingly dissimilar cultures as contemporary Latin America and Renaissance England.

I have devoted much of this conclusion to showing that these works are interconnected in many more ways than just their response to the colonialist subtext of Shakespeare's *Tempest*. They stand on their own as a "third" way of viewing the world and also as examples of a

unique literature. Most importantly, I would like to stress that these appropriations cannot be reduced to a formula, for they are more than aesthetic or intellectual exercises. They are the living records of a culture, not mere colonial shadows of the great European Bard.

Indeed, we might ask what can these appropriations teach us about Shakespeare's original? I believe that first and foremost Latin American culture, of which Isabel Allende's *Eva Luna* speaks with such hope in the above quotation, has rescued the tradition of *The Tempest* as comedy, as the celebration of life Shakespeare (arguably) intended it to be. That is, the productions by Semler and Solórzano and the antics of Brathwaite's Caliban may be closer to the Jacobean (and Restoration) festive versions of the play than most contemporary "dark" interpretations. By identifying totally with Caliban, Latin Americans are not deprecating themselves, for--as Mark Brickman said--Shakespeare's clowns "constitute one of the gravity centers" of Shakespeare's plays (Muñoz, "'La Tempestad': Magia para Restaurar la Justicia"). It is the modern world which, as critic Jerry Tellmer put it, finds it "hard to stay with Shakespeare's clowns" ("Depraved New World"). Moreover, Brathwaite, Rajatabla, and some of the popular songs I include in Appendix A show that Latin Americans are not afraid to acknowledge their imposed subservience: they would rather laugh and make the most of it. Those who

see Lamming's anger or Césaire's rejection as the only logical solution to colonialism forget Latin American culture has survived through rebellion, but also through hope and laughter. In the words of Gabriel García Márquez, "to oppression, plundering and abandonment, [Latin Americans] respond with life" (Rosenberg 269). Latin Americans dance, sing, and make jokes about their condition to alleviate their condition, but they never give up hope. Perhaps, because this "unbridled" festive spirit so imbues Shakespeare's *Tempest*, a culture such as the Latin American can best bring it to life.

Second, for decades now scholars have been collecting proof of the connection between *The Tempest* and the New World. Yet when the people of the New World recognize their reality in the world of *The Tempest*, their identification is treated as an overactive imagination (as American theater critics treated Rajatabla's production). To this sort of academic research, Latin Americans add their felt experience. There is no need for learned treatises to tell them that *The Tempest* is about the New World; they live its reality.

Finally, the identification with either the story, the characters, the themes or the world of *The Tempest* makes Latin American productions come alive with an immediacy absent from stagings motivated solely by aesthetics or politics. For these productions have done

more than use *The Tempest* to convey a particular message: they have "cannibalized" it, thereby making it their own. Even Vidiella's "Europeanized" production, by referring obliquely to the political and emotional state of 1989 Chile, had a heart-wrenching immediacy. And where else but in Mexico, whose world-view is founded on Catholicism and indigenous belief, can we find a *Tempest* about Prospero's salvation, whose rehearsals are attended by the spirits of the play? Only in Latin America can a production of *The Tempest* aim to represent and export the soul of a region.

NOTES

"CANNIBALIZING" THE TEMPEST

1. I have chosen the general term "Latin America" solely for the sake of convenience. I firmly believe that this foreign term (it was coined by the French to distinguish the colonies of the north of America of those in the south) erases the deep cultural differences among Latin American countries and perpetuates the idea that we are "all the same." Thus, whenever possible, I will individualize my analysis to regions or countries of Latin America.

2. For more on Latin American condemnation of the United States, see Alden T. Vaughan's "Caliban in the 'Third World': Shakespeare's Savage as Sociopolitical Symbol"; Jean Franco's "The Select Minority: Arielismo and Criollismo, 1900-1918"; Francis Hayes' "Essays, Upheavals and Mr. Nixon"; and Ramiro de Maetzú's "Rodó and the United States."

3. Some examples are Chantal Zabus' "A Calibanic Tempest in Anglophone & Francophone New World Writing" (an essay of fifteen pages which includes references both to English and French Canadian appropriations besides the usual references to Mannoni, Césaire, Fanon, Brathwaite, Lamming, Fernández Retamar and many others); Rob Nixon's "Caribbean and African Appropriations of *The Tempest*"; Elizabeth Nunez Harrell's "Caliban: A Positive Symbol For Third-World Writers"; and Alden T. Vaughan's "Caliban in the 'Third World'."

4. I had knowledge of one more production but not the means to adequately research it. This adaptation of *The Tempest* was produced in 1989 in Ecuador as a joint enterprise of the Colombian theatrical company Ensamblaje and the Equatorian dance company Frente de Danza Independiente. The only piece of information I have is a brief review by José Rodríguez Neyra in the Cuban journal *Conjunto*, which I reproduce here:

Dance around Shakespeare

Mr. Shakespeare!

Here he is: Your Caliban

Your monster, fruit of a witch and a devil

Who has fins instead of arms

Of repulsive form

A spawn of darkness
 Whose acts are as monstrous as his figure
 Here he is, throbbing
 Or better yet, throbbing with the pulse of this
 usurped land.

The Tempest, from the point of view of Caliban, has been created and presented jointly by the Frente de Danza Independiente de Ecuador and the company Ensamblaje from Colombia. This danced version divided in eleven scenes was choreographed by Wilson Pico and directed by Juan Carlos Moyano and Kléver Viera. This new interpretation of Shakespeare's play offers a historic response to the viewpoint of the European conqueror, a contemporary of Shakespeare. It is a modern version that forwards the [Latin] American view in the debate over the quincennial celebration of the arrival of the Spaniards to the 'New World,' which already existed. Produced in the Circo Invisible of parque El Ejido, *The Tempest* enacts the struggle to regain cultural space and the defense of self-identity. As actor and director Misael Torres said, this production 'is important because it is about how to decipher two languages: drama and contemporary dance.'

(translation mine)

5. The questions ranged from the very general "Why do Shakespeare at all?" to very specific queries about costumes, props, lighting, etc. I taped all interviews unless I met the person in a noisy public place, in which case I took careful notes which I later reviewed with the interviewee. A few times I interviewed people by phone, and a few other times people responded to my questions/questionnaire by mail or fax. For both Chilean productions and the Mexican production I kept journals of my findings. In the case of the production by the Venezuelan Rajatabla, its Public Relations representative, Katiuska Rodríguez, did all the interviewing and much of the review compilation. Rodríguez and I kept in continuous contact by fax and phone throughout her investigation.

6. Latin Americans regularly stereotype each other depending on the region from which they come. As in all stereotyping, some truth accompanies the

overgeneralizations, and for the reader's sake I will try to explain this socio-cultural positioning of the productions by geographical location:

a) Chile, along with Argentina and Uruguay, constitutes the "Southern Cone" of Latin America. People from that region are stereotypically regarded as cold, arrogant, and proud of being "racially homogeneous" descendants of white Europeans. A theatrical production coming from this region would be expected to be blunt, stark, modern, and punctilious.

b) Venezuela is located in the Caribbean basin. People from this region are stereotyped as passionate, sensuous, and turbulent, partly due to their (mythical rather than documented) descent from a mixture of whites, blacks, and native Indians. A production from this region would be expected to be colorful, lively, enthusiastic, and lavish.

c) Mexico is usually considered a region in its own right, partly because it prides itself in belonging geographically to "North" America, partly because its indigenous heritage differentiates it from many other regions of Latin America. Its people are seen as profoundly religious, conservative, and amiable. (This last trait is often obscurely connected to the high incidence of "mestizaje," the mix of whites and Indians, in Mexico's population). A production from this country would be expected to be decorous, moral and amusing.

Since I cannot seriously assess how this regional stereotyping reflects each company's interpretation, I will give a general account of the country's theatrical activity at the beginning of each production's analysis.

7. I explain the difference between these two theatrical categories in the notes to the introduction to the productions, entitled "Latin American Theater."

8. Césaire's ideas deserve more than the summary treatment usually afforded in critical articles. I here provide a translation of some extracts from his censure of Mannoni and other apologists for European colonialism:

[Mannoni] will show you as clear as the day that colonization is based on psychology; that there are, in the order of the world, groups of men suffering, we don't know how, from a complex that he will call 'dependency complex'; that these groups are psychologically made for being dependent; that they need dependence; that they ask, demand, clamor for dependence;

[and] that this is the case of most of the colonized peoples, particularly of the Malagasi.

...
Don't let the subtleties of vocabulary, the novel terminology scare you! You know the old song: "Black-people-are-big-children."

...
If one tells Mannoni that the Malagasi have nevertheless rebelled several times after the French occupation, and once again recently, in 1947, Mannoni, loyal to his argument, will explain to you that theirs is a purely neurotic behavior, a collective madness, a confusion; that, moreover, this circumstance is not about the Malagasi trying to gain concrete things, but [about gaining] an "imaginary security," which evidently implies that the oppression of which they complain is also imaginary.

...
If you are to criticize colonialism, which drives the most peaceful populations to despair, Mannoni will explain to you that, after all, the responsible one is not the *colonialist white*, but the colonized Malagasi. Hell! They took the whites for gods and expected from them all that one expects from divinity!

...
And here is the striking unity of all [these justifications of colonialism], the persevering bourgeois intention of reducing the most human problems to comfortable and hollow notions: the idea of the "dependence complex" in Mannoni, the ontological idea in R.P. Tempels, the idea of "tropicalism" in Gourou. Where is the Bank of Indochina in all this? And the Bank of Madagascar? And the whip? And taxation? And the handful of rice that is all the Malagasi eat? And their martyrs? And their murdered innocents? And the money that piles up in your coffers, gentlemen? Vanished! Disappeared, confused, unrecognizable in the realm of [these] pale arguments.

(from Césaire: *Oeuvre historique et politique* 384-387; trans. mine)

9. Fernández Retamar acknowledges the intense debate his essay caused in the last pages of "Caliban Revisited," his 1986 sequel to "Caliban." For examples of disparate opinions of Fernández Retamar's "Caliban," see Marta E. Sánchez' "Caliban: The New Latin-American Protagonist of *The Tempest*" and the response to it from critic Emir Rodríguez Monegal in his article "The Metamorphoses of Caliban," both published in *Diacritics* within a year of each other.

10. This group includes Peter Hulme's "Prospero and Caliban" and "Hurricanes in the Caribbees: The Constitution of the Discourse of English Colonialism"; Francis Barker and Peter Hulme's "Nymphs and reapers heavily vanish: the discursive con-texts of *The Tempest*"; Paul Brown's "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': *The Tempest* and the discourse of colonialism"; Meredith Anne Skura's "Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*"; Stephen Orgel's "Shakespeare and the Cannibals"; Leo Salingar's "The New World in *The Tempest*"; Alden T. Vaughan's "Shakespeare's Indian: The Americanization of Caliban"; and Thomas Cartelli's "Prospero in Africa: *The Tempest* as colonialist text and pretext." For a longer bibliography on *The Tempest* and colonialism, see Skura's "Discourse and the Individual"; for works on travel literature in Shakespeare's time, see Frey's "The *Tempest* and the New World" and Jean-Pierre Maquélet and Michèle Willems' *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*. For recent New Historicist readings of Shakespeare, see the 1997 Norton *Shakespeare* edited by Stephen Greenblatt.

11. Iris M. Zavala posited the concept of a "third" view of the world to describe the work of Latin American Modernist writers in her introduction to *Colonialism and Culture*.

12. The standard definition of "magical realism" is

Latin-American literary phenomenon characterized by the incorporation of fantastic or mythical elements matter-of-factly into otherwise realistic fiction. The term was applied to literature in the late 1940s by Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier, who recognized the tendency of his region's traditional

storytellers as well as contemporary authors to illumine the mundane by means of the fabulous.
(from Merriam Webster's *Encyclopedia of Literature*)

Unfortunately, this definition lacks much of the feeling embodied in Latin American writings. I try to expand this definition in my analysis of Césaire's, Rajatabla's and Solórzano's work.

13. The "Carnavalesque"/"Cannibalesque" is, in the words of David K. Danow, "the spirited celebration of a world in travesty, where the commonly held values...are reversed" (*The Spirit of Carnival: Magical Realism and the Grotesque*). I use this expression to indicate the playful subversion of authority through satire, parody, travesty, erotism, masking, games and role-playing, the celebration of otherness, the rearticulation of traditions, etc.

14. The contention here is that the popular Latin American hero is not a courageous noble such as *El Cid* or even a pure soul such as Luke Skywalker, but a "pícaro" (rogue/trickster), and that Caliban fits this role quite easily. Some of the general traits of this trickster-hero are a) he is born poor and remains poor: social climbing would annul his role; b) he usually tricks those in authority, thus levelling the balance of power and gaining the sympathy of the audience/reader; c) he survives mostly by his wits: he excels in transforming disadvantage into advantage; d) most importantly, he acts relaxed and unconcerned about the difficulties of life: his joking, dancing, singing, and drinking are ways to survive an otherwise unbearable existence. (If he did not laugh, he would cry).

Different national versions of the trickster-hero can be found throughout Latin America: Argentina has "Pedro Urdemales," Chile has "el roto" (epitomized in "Condorito," a national cartoon well known in all Latin America), Brazil has "Pedro Malasartes," and Mexico has the most celebrated Latin American "pícaro" of all time, "Cantinflas." For more information on the trickster-hero, see Roberto DaMatta's *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*.

Rodó's Ariel

1. Rodó wrote a letter to this effect to the Cuban Carlos Velasco on June 25, 1914 (Henríquez Ureña 75).

2. Although Darío had already connected the United States with Caliban, it seems highly probable that the imagery of Darío's report was influenced by his association with Paul Groussac, who eighteen days before Darío's column appeared in *El Tiempo*, had published a speech in which he matched the "Yankee spirit" with a "'Calibanesque' body" (Rodó, *Obras Completas* 193). For the relationship between Darío and Groussac, see "Caliban's Triumph" in *Escritos Inéditos de Rubén Darío*.

3. Historically, both political and economic intervention has been a constant fear in Latin American, as this extract from *Americas* shows:

Nonintervention as a basic element of sovereignty emerged in the late nineteenth century in response to Latin America's fear of European intervention to collect public and private debts. Opposition to foreign intervention was heightened and redirected throughout Latin America when it became obvious that the United States would use the Monroe Doctrine to justify its intervention in Latin America's affairs....Issued in 1823 by President James Monroe as a warning to European powers not to invade Latin America, the document lay dormant until the late nineteenth century. Then, U.S. interest in the Caribbean began to increase in response to complex motives, including the search for overseas markets and a strong cultural mission that embraced a sense of divine responsibility to spread good government and superior political culture. Latin America, however, never accepted the legitimacy of the Monroe Doctrine.
(Rosenberg 273-274)

Rodó's concern in the fifth section of *Ariel* is that the United States' "sense of divine responsibility" to its neighbors would be ruled by its sense of superiority, and that, therefore, it would impose its culture and politics unfairly and unnaturally on Latin America.

4. Actually, Margaret Sayers Peden lists fifty-nine known editions of *Ariel*.

5. The statue of Ariel and Caliban in Santiago de Chile by sculptor Totila Albert depicted at the beginning of this dissertation would be one such example.

6. In the prologue to Margaret Sayers Peden's translation of *Ariel*, Carlos Fuentes reminisces about the abundant citation of Ariel in oratorical competitions during the forties and fifties in Latin America. Currently in Mexico, the statuette awarded annually for outstanding achievement in television is named "Ariel" in Rodó's honor, and its figure represents the winged spirit of Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

7. Two such instances are recorded in Margaret Sayers Peden's translation of *Ariel*: in the book's foreword, James W. Symington, chief of protocol for Lyndon Johnson, recalls his curiosity when in 1967 the President of Ecuador invoked Rodó and *Ariel* as the guiding lights of the Conference of American Presidents in his keynote address, implying that everyone at the conference understood to what he was referring (*Ariel* 7). Then, one of the book's bibliographical entries makes reference to a quotation from *Ariel* in the 1974 address to the O.A.S. by the then Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger (*Ariel* 131). Although the O.A.S. includes the United States in its participants, its permanent struggle to strengthen the ties among Latin American countries coincides with the unification dream of Rodó, Bolívar, Martí, and countless others.

Fernández Retamar's "Caliban"

1. Fernández Retamar cites several examples of Sarmiento's "nordomanía", of which I have taken the two that seemed most pertinent: Sarmiento's sanction of the "extinction of the savage tribes" that lived in the land that was to be occupied by the European conqueror, and his lifelong dream that Latin America would "catch up to the United States," would in fact "become the United States" ("*Caliban*" 23-24).

2. Probably one of the most famous examples of this "new" Latin American novel is Gabriel García Márquez *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, and, most recently, the novels by Isabel Allende.

3. For a complete list of discussions of *Ariel*, see Margaret Sayers Peden exhaustive bibliography in her translation of Rodó's essay.

Besides Peden's fine translation, I recommend the edition of *Ariel* by the Cambridge University Press (1967) edited by Gordon Brotherson and Emir Rodríguez Monegal's edition of Rodó's collected works, *Obras Completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1967). For opposing views on *Ariel*'s lasting influence in Latin America, see Francis Hayes' "Essays, Upheavals and Mr. Nixon" *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 14.4 (1959) and John T. Reid's "The Rise and Decline of the *Ariel-Caliban* Antithesis in Spanish America," *The Americas* 34.3 (1978). The best short bio-bibliography of Rodó is in Spanish, *Genio y Figura de José Enrique Rodó* by Mario Benedetti (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1966).

For discussions of "Caliban" refer to the notes and bibliography in the English edition of Fernández Retamar's essay translated by Edward Baker. I recommend reading both the English translation and the Spanish original, *Caliban y otros ensayos* (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1979). For opposing views on Caliban as symbol of Latin America, refer to Marta E. Sánchez' "Caliban: The New Latin-American Protagonist of *The Tempest*," *Diacritics* 6.1 (1976) and Emir Rodríguez Monegal's "The Metamorphoses of Caliban," *Diacritics* 7.3 (1977). To get an idea of who Roberto Fernández Retamar is, see Goffredo Diana and John Beverly's "These Are the Times We Have to Live In: An Interview with Roberto Fernández Retamar," *Critical Inquiry* 21 (Winter 1995).

Edward Kamau Brathwaite

1. According to Brathwaite in "The African presence in Caribbean literature," the "name given in Haiti to the compound (courtyard and buildings) where vodun services are conducted" (*Roots* 204).

2. In "The African presence in Caribbean literature," Brathwaite explains that he calls this "intransigent un-English" nation-language because "Africans in the New World always referred to themselves as belonging to certain nations" (*Roots* 219). In a later essay, "History of the voice," Brathwaite defines nation language as opposed to dialect ("bad" or "inferior" English):

[Nation-language] is an English that is not the standard, imported, educated English, but has that of the submerged, surrealist experience and sensibility, which has always been there and which is now increasingly coming to the surface and influencing the perception of

ten years at least behind bars of their books
lawyers likewise.

(X/Self 17-18)

6. Some of my interpretations are based on the information Brathwaite provides in his notes to X/Self:

algonquin pontiac: N. Amerindian (Great Lakes) leader against the British (1763).
tupac amaru ii: Amerindian (Inca) rebel leader against the Spanish conquistadores 1780-1.
my heart at wounded knee: last battle stand of the Amerindian (Sioux) freedom fighters (against the USA) 1890.
tacky: Afro-Jamaican slave leader of the 1760 revolt.
man song (Mansong or Three Finger'd Jack): Another Afro-Jamaican slave rebel leader, Maroon & maverick.
 These rebels, presaged in Dante's *Inferno* and already glimpsed in Michelangelo's paintings under the doom[/dome] of the Sistine Chapel.
 (116-117)

Even Brathwaite's notes sometimes need qualification: Valhalla is the hall of slain warriors who live there in bliss until Doomsday, when they will help the gods to fight their enemies. One of Michelangelo's most prominent--and famous--paintings in the Sistine Chapel is The Last Judgment. Brathwaite is obviously implying that the death of the Calibanesque rebel heroes will be redeemed in the end of time, where justice shall be done.

7. A South African national told me that Solimann's title, "the Neumann," possibly refers to the new Arielesque generation of college-educated black Africans, the "new Africans."

8. The term "nam" is so central to Brathwaite's work that he has defined it many times:

Nam...means not only soul/atom but indestructible self/sense of culture under crisis. Its meaning involves root words from many cultures (meaning "soul"; but also (for me) man in disguise (man spelled backwards); and the main or mane of name after the weak e or tail has been eaten by the conquistador;

leaving life (a/alpha) protected by the boulder consonants n and m.

(X/Self 127)

nam: secret name, soul-source, connected with nyam (eat), yam (root food), nyame (name of god). Nam is the heart of our nation-language which comes into conflict with the cultural imperial authority of Prospero (O'Grady).

(Mother Poem 121)

9. This section should not be considered some imitation of European incantation speeches--say, from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Brathwaite defines the rhythms of section 4 of "Hex" specifically as those of "an anti-praise (or curse) poem, found in African tradition" (*Mother Poem*).

10. In the notes to "Nametracks," Brathwaite gives us the nation-language expression for Prospero's attempt at "cultural domination": *nomminit*, "literally, 'the gobbling up of the (other's) name'" (*Mother Poem 121*).

11. I partly owe this interpretation to Gordon Rohlehr's shrewd analysis of "Caliban" in his *Pathfinder* 220-225. His interpretation of this first section, though, seems a bit rigid to me, considering that Brathwaite's "montage" writing does not permit easy distinctions. Judge for yourselves:

If Caliban's masters in the forties were the British Colonial Offices and the United States marines whose presence during World War II led to the modernising of the night-club, prostitution and gambling industries, Caliban's new masters in the post-independence period are the CIA, State Department and the multinational corporations.

(Rohlehr, *Pathfinder* 221)

12. The British government abolished slavery in its colonies in 1834, but the law took some time to take effect (Cudjoe, *Resistance and Caribbean Literature* 24, 30, 47). Brathwaite is probably referring to the day the slaves were freed in Barbados (1838).

13. An example of "calibanic"/marginal resourcefulness:

buttapan (butterpan): what 'Blanc' discards;
industrial waste converted by Third World

'caliban' into something else he/she can use; the best Caribbean example being the discarded Trinidad oil industry drums converted into steel drum pans, regarded as one of the genuinely new (certainly ingenious) musical instrument creations of the twentieth century. (*X/Self* 123)

14. This is the most quoted passage from Aimé Césaire's play. Caliban tells Prospero he will not respond to the name of "Caliban" any longer, and when Prospero questions his decision, he replies, "C'est le sobriquet dont ta haine m'a affublé et dont chaque rappel m'insulte [It is the name your hatred has given me, and so it insults me every time it is said]" (*Une tempête* 28; trans. mine). Prospero then mockingly suggests other names, but Caliban cuts him short by demanding he be called "X":

Appelle-moi X. Ça vaudra mieux. Comme qui dirait l'homme sans nom. Plus exactement, l'homme dont on a volé le nom.... Chaque fois que tu m'appelleras, ça me rappellera le fait fondamental, que tu m'as tout volé et jusqu'à mon identité!
[Call me X. That would be best. As you would say, a man without a name. More exactly, a man whose name has been stolen.... Every time you call me, it will remind me of a basic fact, that you have taken everything from me, even my identity!]
(*A Tempête* 28; trans. mine)

As you can see, Brathwaite's allusion to this passage in the title of his poetic collection would also indicate a rejection of the colonizer's power to name, a rejection of Prospero's language.

15. The discussion of the British Caribbean poet's struggle to find a rhythm that does not imitate the iambic pentameter is one of the central issues in Brathwaite's "History of the voice," *Roots* 259-304.

16. In his notes to the poem in *X/Self*, Brathwaite acknowledges Robinson as a "brilliant black dancer and underground/submerged teacher and choreographer of the many (more famous) in the Fred Astaire/Shirley Temple era" (127).

17. Brathwaite annotates a few of these works in *X/Self*:

brigg/flatts: nation language (*jordie*) long poem by Basil Bunting, British (Northumbrian) poet (1900-85).
hervokitz: M.J. Herskovits, cultural anthropologist, whose *Life in a Haitian valley* (1937), *The myth of the negro past* (1941), etc. redress the notion that Blacks in Africa and the New World have (had) no culture.
de pisan cantos: Ezra Pound's eccentric long poem about cultural distress...
ink.le & yarico: seventeenth-century Caribbean tale of ill-starred love of Carib daughter (*Inkle*) for a shipwrecked European opportunist.
anglo sax/on chronicles: Early English records of English history from beginning of Christian era until twelfth century (sic).
 (128)

In addition, the Encyclopedia Britannica has the following entry for the "South Sea Bubble":

South Sea Bubble: the speculation mania that ruined many British investors in 1720. The bubble, or hoax, centred on the fortunes of the South Sea Company, founded in 1711 to trade (mainly in slaves) with Spanish America.

Brathwaite evidently feels that his writing could pass for the real item, yet be as fraudulent as investing in the South Sea Company.

18. We will see that Aimé Césaire chooses the trickster god Eshu to counteract Prospero's "white magic" just as Brathwaite chooses Sisyphus, "a widely popular figure in folklore--like Autolycus and Prometheus--the trickster, or master thief" (Encyclopedia Britannica), to embody the essence and trials of the colonial. Here, then, is Brathwaite's first open connection between Caliban and the "pícaro" (trickster) of Latin American and African folklore.

19. Aaron and Moses led the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt to search for the Promised Land. By identifying with the brothers, Brathwaite/Caliban illustrates the enormous responsibility implied in his writing.

Aimé Césaire

1. All extracts I have translated are accompanied by the French original so the reader can judge Césaire's words by himself. Otherwise, extracts from *A Tempest* come from Richard Miller's translation for the stage, which has no page numbers.

2. In an interview with Jeanine Cahen, Césaire explained the "exoticism" of his writing:

Je suis Antillais. Je veux une poésie concrète, très Antillaise, Martiniquaise. Je dois nommer les choses martiniquaises, les appeler par leur nom. [...] Nous avons, pour faire réapparaître le génie nègre, des formes nouvelles, d'une poésie d'avant-garde.

[I am Antillean. I want a concrete poetry, very Antillean, very Martinican. I have to name the Martinican things, call them by their name.... To make the genius of the black people reappear, we have new forms, an avant-garde poetry.]

(qtd. in Hale, *Les Écrits* 406; trans. mine)

Here, in Césaire's recognition of the "new forms" of the New World landscape lies the basis of his "magico-realistic" depiction of Caliban's world.

3. Toumson quotes Césaire's words in *Aimé Césaire, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre* by L. Kesteloot and B. Kotchy:

Mon texte, et c'est normal est devenu gros de touets les préoccupations que j'avais à ce moment-là. Comme je pensais beaucoup à une pièce sur les Etats-Unis, inévitablement les points de référence sont devenus américains. [As is usual, my text developed greatly from all the preoccupations I had at that time. As I was thinking constantly of [writing] a play about the United States, inevitably the points of reference [of *A Tempest*] came from America.]

(*Trois Calibans* 465; trans. mine)

4. Toumson goes further to link Sycorax with "Africa Negra," "Africa Mater" so that Caliban becomes "the black race incarnate" (455).

5. For background on the African god Eshu-Elegbara, see the first chapter of Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s *The Signifying Monkey*. I recommend Gates' book to those analyzing the connection between African-American and Afro-Caribbean literature. For the relevance of Eshu's figure in black theater, see Femi Euba's *Archetypes, Imprecators, and Other Victims of Fate*.

6. In the third chapter of his critical guide to Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, Richard A. Young argues for the difference between Carpentier's concept, "the marvellous in the real" and the contemporary term "magical realism" by comparing Carpentier's novel to Gabriel García Márquez' *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. According to Young, this difference resides in whether the description of the marvelous emphasizes its reality for a group of people ("the marvellous in the real") or accents it as normal phenomena, implying that the natural laws are inoperative ("magical realism") (49).

7. Four extracts of *Discourse* will suffice to make my point, but for a full understanding of Césaire's passion and his commitment to the colonized, I recommend reading the original version of his essay in his *Oeuvre historique et politique*, 357-401. Also, notice how closely the third excerpt reflects George Lamming's conception of the colonized's brutalization in *Water With Berries*. Apparently the Barbadian novelist decided to give Césaire's thesis ("colonization = 'thingification') one last twist.

The colonialists may kill in Indochina, torture in Madagascar, imprison in Black Africa, crack down in the West Indies. Henceforth the colonized know that they have an advantage over them. They know that their temporary "masters" are lying.

Therefore they know their masters are weak.

....

What, fundamentally, is colonization? [The essential thing here is] to agree on what it is not: neither evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease and tyranny, nor a project undertaken for the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law. To admit once [and] for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the

decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the shipowner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of antagonistic economies.

....

We must study how colonization works to decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism; and we must show that each time a head is cut off or an eye put out in Vietnam and in France they accept the fact, each time a little girl is raped and in France they accept the fact, each time a Madagascan is tortured and in France they accept the fact, civilization acquires another dead weight, a universal regression takes place, a gangrene sets in, a center of infection begins to spread; and that at the end of all these treaties that have been violated, all these lies that have been propagated, all these punitive expeditions that have been tolerated, all these prisoners who have been tied up and "interrogated," all these patriots who have been tortured, at the end of the racial pride that has been encouraged, all the boastfulness that has been displayed, a poison has been instilled into the veins of Europe and, slowly but surely, the continent proceeds toward savagery.

....

I hear the storm. They talk to me about progress, about "achievements," diseases cured, improved standards of living.

I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out.

They throw facts at my head, statistics, mileages of roads, canals, and railroad tracks.

I am talking about thousands of men sacrificed to the Congo-Océan [a railroad line]. I am talking about those who, as I write this, are digging the harbor of Abidjan by hand. I am talking about millions of men torn from their gods, their land, their habits, their life-- from life, from the dance, from wisdom.

(*Discourse on Colonialism* 9-24)

8. Césaire explains that "griffe," "marabou" and "sacatra" are not "mythological animals" but the result of other racial combinations: "griffone" is the offspring of a mulatto and a black; "marabou" of a quadroon and a white; "sacatra" of a black and a "grifonne" (*Touissant Louverture* 42). The lack of correspondent terms in English makes translation of Saint-Méry's hairsplitting classification extremely difficult. (Also, note that for Saint-Méry the white parent is always male, the "colored" parent always female, and their offspring always male.)

9. These other plays are *Et les chiens se taisaient* (*And the Dogs Were Silent*), originally a dramatic poem which Césaire rewrote into a tragedy; *La tragedie du roi Christophe* (*The Tragedy of King Christophe*), a testimony of the short but legendary reign of the slave Henri Christophe, who became the first king of Haiti; and *Une saison au Congo* (*A Season in the Congo*), an examination of the political upheaval following the independence of Zaire (ex Belgian Congo) and of its first prime minister and revolutionary martyr, Patrice Lumumba.

George Lamming

1. San Cristobal is a fictional island. Lamming has used it in most of his other novels to represent the Caribbean in general. In *Water With Berries*, for example, the revolutionary members of the Gathering come from the island of San Cristobal but their code names tie them to different regions of the Caribbean, from Cuba ("Santa Clara") passing by Dominican Republic ("San Cristóbal") and Haiti ("Sans-Souci") to Trinidad ("Chaca-Chacare").

2. Lamming's work focuses mostly on this linguistic prison in which colonized people find themselves:

There is no escape from the prison of Prospero's gift. This example of deformity [Caliban] was a challenge to Prospero's need to achieve the impossible. Only the application of

the Word to the darkness of Caliban's world could harness the beast which resides within this cannibal. This is the first achievement of the colonising process. This gift of Language is the deepest and most delicate bond of involvement.... Prospero has given Caliban language; and with it an unstated history of consequences, an unknown history of future intentions.... Therefore, all of Caliban's future--for the future is the very name for the possibilities--must derive from Prospero's experiment which is also his risk.

(*The Pleasures of Exile* 109, emphasis mine)

3. In the notes to "Caliban: A Positive Symbol For Third-World Writers," Elizabeth Nunez Harrell ties Prospero's drink of "water with berries" to Stephano's "celestial liquor" by quoting a passage of one of the alleged sources for *The Tempest*, William Strachey's *True Reportory of the Wracke in Purchase His Pilgrims* (1625), which describes the preparation of an alcoholic beverage made out New World berries.

4. Paquet points out that "Lamming explains the omission as an oversight" (*The Novels of George Lamming* 98).

5. Our realization of Roger's fear of miscegenation comes late in the novel, when Derek finally finds the strength to accuse Roger:

The child might be white; and you couldn't live that; couldn't ever find comfort with Nicole again; because she had given you this white impurity. So you take cover in time, Roger, by passing the buck. You put up your defences before the floods break loose. The child isn't mine; wasn't mine; will not be mine; could never be mine.

(*Water With Berries*, 139)

6. Cudjoe's reports of slave rebellions in Jamaica, Cuba and Haiti confirm that most slaves rebelled by either burning their masters' estates or by poisoning their owners.

7. In this respect, the Old Dowager is a veritable echo of Gonzalo in Césaire's *A Tempest*. Compare the following

passage in Césaire's play with the musings of Lamming's Old Dowager:

GONZALO

I mean if the island is inhabited, as I believe, and if we colonize, as is my hope, then we must take every precaution not to import our shortcomings, yes, what we call civilization. They must stay as they are: savages, noble and good savages, free, without any complexes or complications. Something like a pool granting eternal youth where we periodically come to restore our aging, citified souls.

(Césaire, *A Tempest* 2.2)

[The Old Dowager] frowned; and then returned to her scrutiny of the map.

'I hear they are spoiling such places [San Cristobal]. Those who can afford to get on them.'

She continued to read the map.... Her imagination had grown vivid as the sun: her vision was crowded with superb specimens of a race she could not name; she heard the flow of music, loud and steady, cascading down the mountain range. Nature had gone on holiday before her eyes: a splendour of plants overwhelmed the earth; the flowers were chiming like new bells.

(Lamming, *Water With Berries* 28-29)

8. The history and legend of the New World is full of examples of female "treachery." One of the most famous is the true story of Malinche, a woman serving the Aztecs at the time Hernan Cortés arrived to Tenochtitlán (present Mexico City). Malinche became their translator and later Cortés's concubine. With the aid of her knowledge of the city and its fortifications, Cortés and a small band of Spaniards were able to take over Tenochtitlán and from there the Aztec empire. Up to this day, Malinche's name signals betrayal of one's own in Mexico, and the adjective "Malinchista" the preference of the foreign over the national.

9. While Myra's rape may be Lamming's fictional exaggeration, the tortures colonizers inflicted on their slaves are not. Some examples of these horrors were

documented by C.L.R. James and are cited in several works on the Caribbean. The passage I quote comes from *Resistance and Caribbean Literature*:

There was no ingenuity that fear or a depraved imagination could devise which was not employed to break [the slaves'] spirit and satisfy the lusts and resentment of their owners and guardians--irons on the hands and feet, blocks of wood that the slaves had to drag behind them wherever they went, the tinplate mask designed to prevent the slaves from eating the sugarcane, the iron collar. Whipping was interrupted in order to pass a piece of hot wood on the buttocks of the victim; salt, pepper, citron, cinders, aloes, and hot ashes were poured on the bleeding wounds. Mutilations were common, limbs, ears and sometimes the private parts, to deprive them of the pleasures they could indulge in without expense. Their masters poured burning wax on their arms and hands and shoulders, emptied the boiling cane sugar over their heads, burned them alive, roasted them on slow fires, filled them with gunpowder and blew them up with a match; buried them up to the neck and smeared their heads with sugar that the flies might devour them; fastened them to nests of ants or wasps; made them eat their excrement; drink their urine, and lick the saliva of other slaves.

(Cudjoe 13)

10. Lamming supports this assertion: "The rage inflicted on [Myra] is really that intended for Prospero, for she cannot in the minds of Prospero's victims be separated from his privilege and his history" (Kent 91).

11. See, for instance, "Shakespeare's *Tempest*: A Psychological Analysis" by K.M. Abenheimer.

12. Lamming's exact meaning can be derived from a part of his explanation on the Ceremony of Souls: "The world in which one lives is not just inhabited by the living. It is a world which is also the creation of the dead. And any architecture of the future cannot really take place without that continuing dialogue between the living and the past" (Kent 94).

13. On the subject of Prospero's wife and her obvious absence in *The Tempest*, see Stephen Orgel's "Prospero's Wife."

14. Reports of white women being raped by slaves are almost nonexistent in the Caribbean. Mixed couples, in fact, were not the object of strong societal abhorrence.

15. Not only Paquet's "Water With Berries: Caliban in Albion" seems to assume as much, but Helen Tiffin's "The Tyranny of History" and Margaret Paul Joseph's "The Tormented Spirit" also see the novel as the repetition of an endless colonial cycle from which neither Prospero nor Caliban--but particularly Caliban--cannot escape. Cudjoe's "Towards Independence" captures the essence of Lamming's postulate and even quotes the novelist on revolutionary violence:

I believe that it is against all experience that a history which held men together in that way [colonialism] can come to an end in a cordial manner....It seems to me that there is almost a therapeutic need for a certain kind of violence in the breaking. There cannot be a parting of the ways. There has to be a smashing.

(*Resistance and Caribbean Literature* 210)

Cudjoe concludes, though, that Teeton's independence "is still seen within exclusively personal and almost selfish terms" so that it lacks a connection or meaning to the collective suffering from the colonial experience.

Contemporary Latin American Theater

1. Latin American vaudeville shows ("revistas") usually consist of short acts of a particularly lewd nature punctuated by song-and-dance routines by "vedettes" (showgirls), while cabaret shows consist mostly of routines by showgirls. A Café-concert is any light play or musical performance done in an establishment where people can drink and sometimes eat.

2. I am partly indebted to Juan Villegas' article on Latin American theater, "El Teatro Latinoamericano Como Instrumento del Poder," *Apuntes* (special edition, January 1992), for this classification of Latin American theater.

3. I do not mean to imply that "official" theater is not political. As I have noted, "official" theater normally defines reality conservatively. Latin Americans use the term "political" theater to refer to performances that are overtly about politics and about politics only.

4. As a starting point for further study of these and other expressions of "political" theater, I recommend the following works for general background: José Monleón and Miguel A. Giella's "Teatro latinoamericano: entre la política y el arte," *La Escena Latinoamericana* 4 (1990); Luis Peirano's "La Creación Teatral en América Latina desde la Perspectiva de la Puesta en Escena," *Apuntes* 96 (1988); Eugenio Barba's "La casa con dos puertas," *Máscara* 2 (1989); Rosalina Perales' *teatro hispanoamericano contemporáneo*; and Nora Eidelberg's *Teatro Experimental Hispanoamericano*. For specific expressions of this theater, I recommend Pedro Bravo-Elizondo's *Teatro hispanoamericano de crítica social*; Armando Partida's "El teatro de creación colectiva en latinoamérica," *Escénica* 11 (1985); Enriqueta Salas' "Augusto Boal y el Teatro del Oprimido," *La Cabra* 18 (1980); and Manuel Chapuseaux's "¿La muerte del teatro popular?" *Conjunto* 94 (1993).

5. Some leftist groups name their theatrical productions "popular" theater to assert the connection of their theatrical efforts with the needs of "the people." (Thus the title of Manuel Chapuseaux's article in the note preceding this one). The main problem with accepting this leftist nomenclature is that many of these political groups indoctrinate the working-class people rather than help them express themselves ritualistically. Thus, their work is not so much an expression of the worldview of the people as of leftist discourse, and as such does not genuinely warrant the name "popular."

6. The following are some interesting accounts of "popular" theater by Latin Americans: Misael Torres' "Teatro Popular Contemporáneo," *Actuemos* 26 (1990); and Josefina Lavallo's "Danza-Drama Indígena Mexicana," *La Cabra* 33 (1981). For accounts of carnival, see Roberto DaMatta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*; John Cowley's *Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso*; Javier Contreras Villaseñor's "Carnaval y Libertad," *La Cabra* 100 (1995); and Alberto Hijar's "Carnavaleando," *La Cabra* 100 (1995).

7. Although Willy Semler did not study under Mnouchkine, he became indirectly connected to the Théâtre du Soleil through his close friend Chilean actor/director Andrés Pérez. Pérez worked for five years with Mnouchkine's group before he returned to Chile for a brief period during which he headed national theater workshops and toured seven countries with one of the most famous Latin American productions of the last decade: *La Negra Ester*, starring Willy Semler--among others--in a bisexual role. For more information on this production, see Sergio Pereira Pozas' "Prácticas Teatrales Multimediales en 'La Negra Ester', de Andrés Pérez," *Apuntes* (special edition, January 1992); Marco Antonio de la Parra's "'La Negra Ester' o la redención del teatro chileno," *La Época*, January 17, 1989 and "La estrella de Andrés Pérez," *La Época*, January 25, 1989; and María Eugenia Mesa's "Volvió 'la Negra'," *Ercilla*, September 13, 1989.

Chilean Productions

1. In Chile, the term "commercial theater" (entertainment theater such as vaudeville and Café-concerts) normally opposes that of "university theater" (usually associated with the non-profit production of "cultural" theater). This division augmented during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, when the only way for theater people to survive was to put on inane shows (Café-concerts) or, in the case of the universities, produce "safe" classical drama from Greece, Spain, and England. Still, some independent companies have been able to turn a profit while producing meaningful--even markedly political--theater. Tomás Vidiella's *El Conventillo* is a case in point.

For a general background on Chilean theater, refer to volume two of *Escenarios de dos mundos*. For an analysis of Chilean theater during Pinochet's dictatorship, see Susana Epstein and Ian Watson's "Chilean Theatre in the Days and Nights of Pinochet"; Catherine M. Boyle's *Chilean Theater*; Héctor Noguera's "Lucha Contra La Desesperanza"; and Grinor Rojo's "Muerte y resurrección del teatro chileno." For the development of Chilean theater after the dictatorship, see Ian Watson and Susana Epstein's "Theatre after the Dictatorships: Developments in Chile and Argentina"; Eduardo Guerrero's "Teatro Chileno Contemporáneo: Una Visión Panorámica de las Dos Últimas Décadas"; Juan Andrés Piña's "La Voz de los 80"; Marco

Antonio de la Parra and María de la Luz Hurtado's "El nuevo teatro chileno"; and Juan Antonio Muñoz's "Teatro Chileno Actual."

2. Grinor Rojo cites the case of the--later exiled--company El Aleph after the opening of their collective play *In the beginning there was life....* One of El Aleph's members, Oscar Castro, tells playwright Ariel Dorfman about his kidnapping:

We survived opening night and word got out, one person would tell another about our play, the theater would be full. Maybe that was a bad thing. People would say: "Go see this play because it's not going to last a week;" "Go see these guys now because they are going to throw them in jail."... And so it was. One Sunday, after the performance, about nine thirty, they came to my house. They threw me in a van. They came for me specifically.... Then, brother, you go through what everyone has gone through, that is, you start a routine cycle which includes torture, electricity, love, caring, the works.... They had never seen a play in their lives. They were really ignorant. That order against us must have come from someone in Universidad Católica. When their guy in charge of Intelligence saw the play--that guy must have had some sensibility--he probably thought: "this must be stopped, if we do not do it now, there will be other plays by other groups and then there will be no stopping them."

("Muerte y resurrección del teatro chileno"
69)

Still, the most poignant case was that of actor Roberto Parada. In 1985, Parada's son was kidnapped and murdered by Pinochet's "special forces" while Parada was playing the role of an exiled Uruguayan father whose son is imprisoned and then killed. The actor was told of his son's death during an interval in performance, but refused to stop the play. The audience, having been made aware of the murder in an announcement by the production's cast, watched in tears as this father soliloquized about the (now real) death of his only son. Parada thus became a symbol of the courage and resolve of Chilean artists.

3. Technical File:

La Tempestad, by El Conventillo.
Santiago, Teatro El Conventillo, May 1989.

Prospero.....	Tomás Vidiella
Miranda.....	Verónica González
Ariel.....	Claudio Rodríguez
Caliban.....	Andrés del Bosque
Ferdinand.....	Mauricio Aravena
Alonso.....	Pedro Villagra
Gonzalo.....	Sergio Madrid
Sebastian.....	Sergio Gajardo
Antonio.....	Agustín Moya
Trinculo.....	Mario Poblete
Stephano.....	Sergio Schmied
Boatswain.....	Andrés del Bosque
Ceres.....	Claudio Rodríguez
Juno.....	Sergio Gajardo
Iris.....	Sergio Schmied
Translation.....	Fernando Debesa and Tomás Vidiella
Directors.....	Mark Brickman, Janine Wünsche
Producer.....	Eliana Vidiella
Set Designer.....	Eduardo Sáenz
Costume Designer.....	Pablo Núñez
Lighting Designer.....	Ricardo Yáñez
Original Music by.....	José Miguel Miranda
Stage Manager.....	Pablo Arriagada
Assistant Director.....	Roderic Anaya

4. For background information on these Shakespearean productions, see Juan Antonio Muñoz's "Shakespeare Se Toma Santiago." For details about the latest and most popular of these productions, see Juan Francisco Somalo's "Pintando Rostros Para Crear Personajes" for Andrés Pérez's *Twelfth Night*; Juan Francisco Somalo's "El Sueño de Lear"; Juan Antonio Muñoz's "'El Rey Lear' o el Viaje de la Cuna a la Cripta"; and the special edition of *Apuntes* 103 (1992) for Universidad Católica's production of *King Lear*; Juan Antonio Muñoz's "'Ofelia', la otra historia"; Carola Oyarzún's "Una Ofelia Delirante y Desbordada"; Yolanda Montecinos' "Shakespeare más de la Parra"; and Carmen Mera's "Ofelia: ¡Anoréxica...SUBVERSIVA!" for Marco Antonio de la Parra's *Ophelia or the Dead Mother*.

5. This single event in the course of the production illustrates Vidiella and Brickman's cultural difference. Vidiella had had plans to modernize his theater for some time, but Brickman's choice of a circular thrust stage precipitated events. Vidiella, therefore, considered his willingness to spend a substantial amount of money in renovating El Conventillo at this point in time as a gesture of good faith towards the Englishman. Brickman, on the other hand, just saw it as an improvement to an outdated theater. Then, once the changes to El Conventillo had been made, a reporter from the magazine *Ercilla* asked about the need for a circular stage. Vidiella responded by emphasizing the symbolic meaning of the stage and its role in the theater: "Its form represents energy, the magic circle, and the fact that acting forces are usually concentric and so expand towards the spectators." Brickman just saw the change in practical terms: "we want the audience near the action, around the action, not separated from it" (Lavín, "Aún sin destarse, antigua 'Tempestad' provoca efectos por 12 millones en El Conventillo").

6. Three extracts from translation of Vidiella's and Debesa's *The Tempest* follow: the first is one of Caliban's most poetic moments, his description of the "sweet airs" of the island in 3.2, the second Ariel's songs to charm Ferdinand in 1.2, the third, Prospero's closing speech.

1.

CALIBAN: No tengas miedo. La isla está llena de sonidos y dulces melodías que dan placer y no hacen daño. A veces un millar de instrumentos mágicos arrullan mis oídos, y a veces oigo voces, que si hubiera despertado después de un largo sueño, me harían dormir otra vez. Entonces al soñar las nubes se abren dejando caer pétalos de colores que me tocan y acarician de tal manera que al despertar lloro para soñar de nuevo.

2.

ARIEL: (Cantando) Venid a este arenal
daos todos la mano
saludad y besad
al salvaje océano
danzad aquí y allá
en la luz y en su brillo
y los dulces espíritus
lleven el estribillo.

Su aprobación puede inflar las velas de mi
barco
o bien fracasaré en mi intento de agradarlos.
Ya no poseo espíritus que estén bajo mi mando
ni poderes mágicos con que efectuar encanto.
Yo podría terminar siendo un desesperado,
a no ser que me salve la plegaria que les hago,
la que pide piedad y libera de todo pecado.

Así como ustedes quieren que sus vicios sean
perdonados
denme mi libertad con su indulgencia y sus
aplausos.

7. Again, Brickman and Vidiella agreed for different motives. Brickman wanted *The Tempest* to look modern to stress the playwright's universality and to liberate the play from five hundred years of cultural and critical baggage. He believed that if the play was "modern" for Shakespeare's audiences, so it should seem modern for contemporary audiences. Vidiella, on the other, wanted to avoid the negative aspects of producing classical Shakespeare in Chile: first, he did not want his play to look like "a museum piece" because Chilean audiences associate classical settings with boring plays. They have had many unfortunate experiences with classical Spanish drama, which sounds as old-fashioned to Latin American audiences as Shakespeare does to their English counterparts. Then, Vidiella did not want *The Tempest* to look like "cultural" theater because then audiences and critics would respond to his production by rote: they would see what they expected to see, not what was being presented. Vidiella admitted that, in spite of his efforts to distance the production from the "classical" image, it turned out to be elegant and correct rather than exciting and magical--as he would have like it to be (Personal Interview).

8. Vidiella was quite miffed at Brickman's faux pas. After *The Tempest* was over, he went to the British Council in England and informed them about Brickman "omitting" mention of Janine Wunsche as a co-director in his talks with Vidiella. He did it, he said, "so that the gringos, who are very correct people, would know my side of the story too. I was not the one who pushed for the co-direction" (Personal Interview).

9. Technical File:

La Tempestad, by La Bordada.
Santiago de Chile, Sala Universidad Católica,
September 1993.
Anfiteatro Griego Parque Juan XXIII, March
1994.

Prospero.....Héctor Viveros
Miranda.....María José Galleguillos
Ariel.....Paola Fernández
Caliban.....Rodrigo Muñoz
Ferdinand.....Alfonso Sánchez
Alonso.....Rosana Ilabaca
Gonzalo.....Mario Soto, Alikí Constancio
Sebastian.....Alfredo Becerra
Antonio.....Larissa Contreras
Trinculo.....Marcelo Sánchez
Stephano.....Pablo Macaya
Boatswain.....Luz María Yacometti
Captain/Adrian....Javiera Cerda
Ceres/Juno/Iris/
Spirits.....Javiera Cerda, Luz María
Yacometti, Alikí Constancio,
Alfredo Becerra.

Adaptation by.....La Bordada
Director.....Willy Semler
Producer.....Constanza Arce
Set Designer.....Eduardo Jiménez, Sergio
Bannura
Costume Designer..Maya Mora
Coreographer.....Andrea Cruz
Music.....Claudio Barría, Leslie
Murtagh, and José Miguel
de la Cruz

10. Héctor Viveros (Prospero) explained that in interpreting the play that Semler uses a type of "collective play" which privileges "emotion over reason":

[Willy Semler] works with what actors do to stage a scene....We don't do previous intellectual work. The first day you get on stage and propose your character, any you want. Each of us can try as many characters as he or she wants, until he or she finds the one that

fits.... In that sense, what counts is the work we do to stage a scene, no one comes with preconceptions about how to do something. The style of the play is born from the rehearsals, based on our proposals. The director just coordinates the actors' proposals.

(Zaliasnik, "Hoy Comienza Una Tempestad Esperanzadora")

During his interview, Semler himself outlined his two main objectives when producing a play:

We should play with texts, make them strange, inject them with meaning. Out with the sanctioned way to do a classic! It is a bunch of clichés anyway. We have to be surprising, we have to re-invent the rules of theater.... [Players] have forgotten how to be acrobatic, how to dance, how to sing. We should use our bodies to surprise our audiences, to remind them that acting is magic, a communal ritual, a celebration.

(Personal Interview)

11. Luis Astrana Marín has been the only scholar who has translated Shakespeare's complete works into Spanish, and so his texts are widely published and used for productions all over Latin America. To the despair of theater people, Astrana Marín opted for the most exact translation possible (his translations are famous for their extensive textual notes) in disregard for dramatic concerns. Also, so much of his language is by now outdated that his texts always end up being "modernized" for the stage. What follows are Astrana Marín's translations of the same three extracts from *The Tempest* that are cited for Vidiella's production:

1.

CALIBAN: Tranquilízate. La isla esta llena de rumores, de sonidos, de dulces aires que deleitan y no hacen daño. A veces un millar de instrumentos bulliciosos resuena en mis oídos y a instantes son voces que, si a la sazón me he despertado después de un largo sueño, me hacen dormir nuevamente. Y entonces, soñando, diría que se entreabren las nubes y despliegan a mi

vista magnificencias prontas a llover sobre mí;
a tal punto, que cuando despierto ¡lloro por
soñar todavía!

2.

CANCIÓN DE ARIEL: Venid a estas arenas
 amarillas
y cogeos las manos
después de los saludos y
 los besos
a las salvajes ondas,
danzad alegremente aquí y
 allá.
Dulces genios, llevad el
 estribillo,
escuchad, escuchad.

ESTRIBILLO

[Entre bastidores.]
¡Guau...Uau...! [Como un eco.]
ladran los perros guardianes.

[Entre bastidores.]
¡Guau...Uau...! [Como un eco.]
¡Escuchad, escuchad! Oigo
el canto del audaz Chantecler.
[Grito.]
¡Qui-qui-ri-quí!...

FERDINAND: ¿De dónde viene esa música? Del
aire, o de la tierra? No se oye ya..., y a buen
seguro se dirige a alguna divinidad de la isla.
Sentado en la playa, llorando el naufragio del
rey mi padre, se deslizó junto a mí esta música
sobre las aguas, aplacando su furia y mi dolor
con su dulce melodía. La he seguido hasta aquí,
o más bien me ha traído ella; pero ha
cesado...No, comienza de nuevo.

ARIEL: (canta) Tu padre yace enterrado bajo
 cinco brazas de agua;
se ha echo coral con sus huesos;
los que eran ojos son perlas.
Nada de él se ha dispersado,
sino que todo ha sufrido la
transformación del mar
en algo rico y extraño.

La ondinas, cada hora, hacen
sonar su campana.

ESTRIBILLO
[Entre bastidores.]
¡Ding-dong!...
¡Escuchad, ahora la oigo!...
¡Ding-dong!... ¡Dan!...

3.
PROSPERO: Ahora quedan rotos mis hechizos
y me veo reducido a mis propias fuerzas,
que son muy débiles. Ahora, en verdad,
podríaís confinarme aquí
o remitir a Nápoles. No me dejéis,
ya que he recobrado mi ducado
y perdonado al traidor,
en esta isla desierta por vuestro sortilegio,
sino libradme de mis prisiones
con el auxilio de vuestras manos.
Que vuestro aliento gentil hinche mis
velas,
o sucumbirá mi propósito,
que era agradaros. Ahora carezco
de espíritus que me ayuden, de arte para
encantar
y mi fin será la desesperación,
a no ser que la plegaria me favorezca,
la plegaria que conmueve, que seduce
a la misma piedad, que absuelve toda falta.
Así, vuestros pecados obtendrán el perdón,
y con vuestra indulgencia vendrá mi absolución.
(*Obras Completas* 2045-2029-2061)

Venezuelan Production

1. For an extensive background on Venezuelan theater, see Osvaldo Pelletieri's *Teatro Latinoamericano de los 70* or volume four of *Escenarios de dos mundos*. I have to thank Rajatabla's Public Relations manager, Katiuska Rodríguez, for her extensive summary on Venezuelan theater, for the photocopies of most of the reviews cited here and for conducting all the interviews with members of Rajatabla.

2. For further study of Rajatabla, see the booklets it published for its 20th anniversary (1991) and its 25th anniversary (1996).

1.

CALIBAN: No temas, la isla está llena de rumores, sonidos y dulces melodías que producen placer y no hacen daño. A veces, mil instrumentos suenan en mis oídos y en otras ocasiones se oyen voces que, si las escucho luego de un largo sueño, me hacen dormir de nuevo. Y entonces sueño que las nubes se abren y me muestran riquezas infinitas, que están a punto de caer sobre mí. Y cuando despierto, me despierto llorando, porque lo que más quiero entonces, oh sí, es seguir soñando.

2.

ARIEL: (CANTANDO)

Vengan todos a este llano
 sí, tomados de la mano.
 Vengan pronto a saludar
 las verdes olas del mar.
 Es un baile muy sencillo
 escuchen el estribillo:
 guau, guau, guau
 ladra el perro,
 kikirikí canta el gallo
 kikirikí, kikirikí, kikirikí.

FERDINAND: ¿De dónde sale esa música? De los aires o de la tierra? Ya no se oye. Será tal vez el cantar de algún dios de esta isla. Cuando sentado en la playa lloraba la muerte de mi padre, el rey, la música llegó hasta mí como deslizándose sobre las olas, y aplacó a la vez su furia y mi sufrir con su dulzura. Entonces la seguí o ella me atrajo, no sé muy bien. Pero ya no la escucho...No, comienza de nuevo.

ARIEL: (CANTANDO)

Tu padre está muerto en el fondo del
 mar,
 Ahora sus huesos se han vuelto coral
 y sus ojos en perlas se han trocado
 por seguir del mar los dictados.
 Es el mar un ser muy poderoso
 y todo lo que toca lo convierte en algo
 hermoso.
 Ya las sirenas tañen sus campanas
 que repican con amable son:
 din don, din don, din don.

Escuchen, escuchen el son:
din, don, din don, din don.

3.

PROSPERO: Ya mis poderes mágicos se van apagando y quedo reducido a mis escasas fuerzas. Ahora mi futuro está en sus manos: ustedes pueden hacer que regrese a mi patria o que permanezca aquí en la isla, solitario. Ya que ocuparé mi reino y perdoné al traidor, no me abandonen en este sitio desolado. Con sus palmas generosas devuélvanme mi libertad pues mi intención de agradar será un fracaso si no hinchán mis velas con su aliento gentil. Ruego que todo error nos sea perdonado. Si aplauden seré por fin libre y feliz.

5. Although most Latin American writers from Pablo Neruda to Carlos Fuentes have made the marvelous reality of Latin America the subject of their writings, the best known "magico-realistic" depictions are those of Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez. In his 1982 Nobel prize acceptance speech, García Márquez explained that the fabulous had always been part of Latin American reality. It was first represented in the fantastical yet accurate accounts of the New World by European navigators. Later, the abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones in the New World became the subject of legends such as El Dorado. Once independent from the "mother" countries, Latin America continued to live its "unbridled" reality in the form of extravagant despots such as General Antonio López de Santana, three times dictator of Mexico, who "held a magnificent funeral for the right leg he had lost in the so-called Pastry War" (Rosenberg 266). More recently, the region has experienced such massive emigration due to five wars and seventeen military coups that, according to Márquez, "the country that could be formed of all the exiles and forced emigrants of Latin America would have a population larger than that of Norway" (Rosenberg 267). For García Márquez, the "outsized reality" of Latin America, "a reality not of paper" is what "nourishes a source of insatiable creativity, full of sorrow and beauty" whose literary manifestations are taken as fantasy by those who have not experienced Latin American reality. The "crux" of the region's "solitude," then, is the Latin American artist's "lack of conventional means to render [Latin America] believable" to the rest of the world.

6. Technical File:

***La Tempestad*, by Rajatabla.**
New York, The Delacorte Theater, August 1991.
Philadelphia, Zellerbach Theater, October 1991.

Prospero.....	José Tejera
Miranda.....	Nathalia Martínez
Ariel.....	Erich Wildpret
Caliban.....	Daniel López
Ferdinand.....	Jesús Araujo
Alonso.....	Germán Mendieta
Gonzalo.....	Hugo Márquez
Sebastian.....	Aitor Gaviria
Adrian.....	Ramón Goliz
Trinculo.....	Cosme Cortázar
Stephano.....	Aníbal Grunn
Captain/	
Old Spirit.....	Rodolfo Villafranca
Black Spirit.....	William Cuao
Spirits/Sailors/	
Juno, Iris, Ceres.....	Ricardo Martínez, Héctor Becerra, Ismael Monagas, Gregorio Milano, Alejandro Faillace

Adaptation by.....Ugo Ulive
Director.....Carlos Giménez
Set and
Lighting Design.....Marcelo Pont-Verges
and Augusto González
Costume Design.....Hugo Márquez, Marcelo
Pont-Verges, Augusto
González
Original Music by.....Juan Carlos Núñez
Sound by.....Eduardo Bolívar
Artistic Production.....Jorge Borges, Andrés
Vázquez, Gabriel
Flores
Executive Producer.....William López
Tecnical Director.....Freddy Belisario

Little has been documented about the production at the Zellerbach Theater. The cast and technical crew flew back to Venezuela for a vacation after their participation in the New York Festival, and then prepared themselves--less enthusiastically according to a reporter from *El Diario de*

Caracas--for their second visit to the United States to produce *La Tempestad* in Philadelphia. Two factors affected the quality of the production: the dispirited mood of the cast partly caused by José Tejera (Prospero)'s sickness, which later caused his death, and the fact that the closed, small Zellerbach Theater diminished the spectacular set design.

7. Ulive was never told that his adaptation was going to be used by Rajatabla in New York. He just learned this fact when Katuska Rodríguez interviewed him in the Fall of 1996.

8. Germán Mendieta testified to the dangers of wandering through the maze-like metal structure in full costume:

When we got to New York the winds were very strong and we all had to use very heavy capes about three meters long and Carlos [Giménez] put us in the fourth level of the backstage building for the tempest scene. So we had to get down with those capes by the walks of the structure. Then, for opening night a *real* storm begins in Central Park and our capes started flapping and throwing us backwards towards a lake behind and below the stage!

(Rodríguez, Interview)

9. All members of Rajatabla interviewed agreed that their experience with the New York Theater Festival would have been very disappointing if they had not had such a positive experience with their audience, particularly the city's Latino community. Jesús Araujo mentioned that people even recognized and stopped him in the streets to express their congratulations for a job well done.

Mexican Production

1. For a general background of Mexican theater, see volume 3 of *Escenarios de dos mundos*; Rosalina Perales' *Teatro hispanoamericano contemporáneo*; Ignacio Merino Lanzilotti's "Historia del Teatro en Mexico." I am indebted to Martín Acosta, Director of the Centro de Investigaciones Teatrales Rodolfo Usigli (CITRU) in Mexico City and Mexican critic David Olguín for their insights on Mexican theater.

2. The invitation to participate in the Festival Internacional Cervantino proves the high quality of Por

Amor Al Arte's work. This famous festival has been running without interruption in the historic city of Guanajuato since 1957. On the average, it invites a hundred artistic companies from all over the world to perform on its twenty-two stages every year. Some of the famous theater figures that have participated include Peter Brook, Lindsay Kemp, and Dario Fo accompanied by their respective companies. The festival has also been constantly visited by world ensembles such as The Bolshoi, La Comédie Française, Old Vic, La Cuadra de Sevilla, L'Abogaria de Venecia, The Greek National Theater, Rajatabla (from Venezuela), Macunaíma (from Brazil), Teatro Popular de Colombia, The Chinese Popular Theater, and companies specializing in traditional drama from India and Japan (*Escenarios de dos mundos* 3:174).

3. Technical File:

La Tempestad, by Por Amor Al Arte.
 Ciudad de México, Museo Universitario del Chopo, 1989.
 Ciudad de México, Instituto Politécnico Nacional, 1990.
 Ciudad de México, Centro Cultural Helénico; Teatro La Reforma, 1991.
 Ciudad de México, Teatro Tepeyac, 1992.

Prospero.....Juan José Martínez
 Miranda.....Alicia Sánchez
 Ariel.....Omar Alejandro Solórzano
 Caliban.....Cosette Acevedo
 Ferdinand.....Carlos Solórzano
 Alonso.....Carlos Espinosa
 Gonzalo.....Daniela Espinosa
 Sebastian.....Gerardo Tremari
 Antonio.....Verónica Acevedo
 Trinculo.....Francisco Cruz
 Stephano.....Juan Carlos Solórzano
 Ceres.....Daniela Espinosa
 Juno.....Verónica Acevedo
 Iris.....Norma Cuesta
 Spirits.....Jennifer Michel,
 Monsterrat Caullieres,
 Fernando Pérez

Adaptation by.....Magdalena Solórzano
 Director.....Magdalena Solórzano
 Production.....Por Amor Al Arte

Set Designers.....Angel Cruz, Consuelo
 Pérez and Gerardo Rivera
 Costume Designer.....Gonzalo Alarcón
 Lighting Designer.....Ricardo Solórzano
 Music.....Berlioz; Rey Solórzano
 and Rosalío Solórzano
 Assistant Director....Omar Alejandro

4. Samples of Luis Astrana Marin's translations can be found in the textual notes for the Chilean Willy Semler's 1994 production of *The Tempest*.

5. The cast of Por Amor Al Arte corroborated Magdalena Solórzano's stories and added other "magic" incidents to her list: the "mysterious" disappearance of props or entire costumes and two sudden blackouts followed by "chilling winds" during rehearsals on the stage of Teatro Tepeyac.

Performing *The Tempest*

1. Interestingly, the reporters for the Chilean right and the bourgeoisie acknowledged Vidiella's "proper" behavior by praising his production in the most "official" of languages: Yolanda Montecinos' title for her article on the play, for example, hails *The Tempest* as "a cultural contribution from an independent company" (emphasis mine). On the other hand, Wilfredo Mayorga from *El Fortín Mapocho*, the only leftist newspaper that reviewed the production, significantly found the production "badly adapted to a Chilean context" ("La tempestad': débil traducción y mal cortada").

2. The tradition I am referring to started in 1667 with a version of *The Tempest* called *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* by Sir William Davenant which lasted a good hundred years and even was made into an opera. In Davenant's version,

Prospero's role is radically reduced.... The comic scenes are greatly elaborated, Antonio's role diminished, and Sebastian eliminated completely. A good deal of music and dance is added, though Prospero's masque is omitted. The production was very popular.

(Orgel, introduction to *The Tempest*)

The obvious parallels between this "very pleasant" *Tempest* (in the words of Restoration chronicler Samuel Pepys) and La Bordada's festival *Tempest* could account for the popularity of both versions.

3. Contrast this interpretation not only with Brickman and Vidiella's , but with Peter Greenway's 1991 film version of *The Tempest*, *Prospero's Books*, where Prospero (played by Sir John Gielgud) "voice[s], for the most part, the dialogue of **all** the other characters in the drama as well" (Greenway 9; emphasis mine).

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APPENDIX A

Latin America boasts a rich oral tradition in which popular songs play an important role by channeling the views and preferences of the people. The songs below articulate central ideas in the Shakespearean appropriations by Rodó (the need for Latin American spiritual and political union) and Fernández Retamar (the singers' praise of the marginal reality of Latin America and its struggles to achieve complete sovereignty) for the people who care little about intellectual pursuits. Also, in a practice parallel to Brathwaite's "calibanizations" of the colonizer, many of these songs tend to undermine their themes of dependence and oppression by using irony--or, in the case of "Los Prisioneros," bitter sarcasm. All extracts below have been chosen based on their popularity/fame throughout Spanish--and in some cases Latin--America. All translations are mine except for "Let's speak the same language" which was already translated in Gloria Estefan's album.

1. Juan Luis Guerra is Dominican Republic's most famous singer at the moment. Beloved in Spanish-America for his popular dance music, he does not hesitate to mix social commentary with pulsating rhythms. Such is the case of this "merengue" about the cost of living, where the refrain ("no one cares/because we don't speak English/neither to mitsubishi/nor chevrolet") can signify both the rejection of the Latin American of the ways of the foreigner and the First World's indifference towards anyone incapable of speaking "civilized" languages such as English. Thus, Guerra represents the victimization of Latin America along with the good humor of its inhabitants, who can dance and sing to a song that illustrates their victimization.

THE COST OF LIVING

(El Costo de la Vida)

Juan Luis Guerra and Diblo Dibala (Kimla Eve)

The cost of living rises again
the peso goes down so far you cannot see it
we cannot buy beans to eat
nor a pound of rice or some ounces of coffee
no one cares what you think
maybe it's because here no one speaks English
ah ah it's true

do you understand? (these two last verses are
do you, do you? in English in the original)

And the gas goes up again
the peso goes down so low you cannot see it
and democracy cannot grow
if corruption plays chess
no one cares what you think
maybe it's because here no one speaks French
ah ah vous parlez?
ah, ah, non monsieur.

We are a hole between the sea and
the sky
500 years afterwards
a burning race
black, white, and taína
but, who discovered who?
um, it's true
Ah! and the cost of living
goes up you see
and the peso goes down so low
poor thing, we cannot see it
and medicine
walks backwards
here not even a corn in one's foot
is treated
here-he-re-he-re
he-re-he-re
and now unemployment
has also bitten me
no one cares
because we don't speak English
neither to mitsubishi
nor to chevrolet.

Corruption is high
high, you see
and the peso goes down
poor thing, you cannot see it
and crime caught me this time
here not even a corn on one's foot
is treated
here-he-re-he-re
he-re-he-re
and now unemployment
caught me this time
no one cares

because we don't speak English
 neither to mitsubishi
 nor to chevrolet
 um, it's true

Recession goes up
 it goes up, you see
 and the peso so low
 poor thing, you cannot see it
 and medicine
 walks backwards
 here not even a corn on one's foot
 is cured
 here- he-re-he-re
 he-re-he-re
 and unemployment
 has bitten me this time
 no one cares
 since we don't speak English
 neither to mitsubishi
 nor to chevrolet.

(Extracted from the album Grandes Exitos de Juan Luis Guerra, 1995).

2. "Los Prisioneros," from Chile, remain one of the most famous groups of South American Rock. Although their popularity reached its all-time high in South America, they are well-known in most of Central and North America (Mexico) as well. "Latin America is a Village South of the United States" rejects the First World notion of Latin America as a big backyard of the United States where one culture ("The Carnival in Rio") is the same as another ("the Aztec ruins"). It is also a scathing criticism of Ariel-minded Latin Americans who imitate the ways of First World people and an urgent call for Latin American union.

LATIN AMERICA IS A VILLAGE SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES.
(Latinoamérica es un pueblo al sur de los Estados Unidos).
Jorge González

For tourists, curious people
 It's an exotic place to visit
 It's only a cheap place, not for settling down
 They offer them Latin America
 The Carnival in Rio and the Aztec ruins
 Dirty people wandering in the streets
 Ready to sell themselves for some "USA dollars"

No one in the rest of the planet
 Takes this enormous and sad village seriously
 They smile when they see it has twenty-something flags
 Each one more proud than the other
 How stupid!
 To divide is to weaken...

The superpowers are the guardians
 Who try their weapons in our guerrillas
 Red or striped, in the final hour there is no difference
 They invite our leaders
 To sell their soul to the green devil
 They invent cute acronyms
 So that the leaders feel more important

And the innocent people of Latin America
 Will cry if Ronald Reagan or the Queen die
 And they follow closely Princess Carolina's life
 As if these people had ever suffered from underdevelopment
 We are in a hole!
 It really seems that...

Latin America is a village South of the United States
 (repeat four times)

So that they feel at home
 We copy their neighborhoods and lifestyle
 "We try to talk in the jet set language" [In English]
 So they won't think us uncivilized
 When we visit their cities
 They black-list us and treat us as criminals
 Russians, English, Gringos, French
 They laugh at our fantastic film directors

We are such a nice little village
 That everyone wants to help us to start a conflict
 But the same gold
 Could be used to find a definitive solution to hunger
 Latin America is big!
 It should learn to decide...

Latin America is a village South of the United States
 (repeat four times)
 (Extracted from the album La Voz de los Ochenta, 1982).

3. Pop and ballad singer Ricardo Arjona is a Guatemalan
 adored by Latin Americans for his romantic songs. Arjona
 also writes honest, good humored, satirical lyrics about

his experiences as a Latin American that quickly become sure hits. In "If the North were the South" Arjona inverts the relationship of Latin America and the United States to undermine the average American's belief in the natural superiority and the "manifest destiny" of his country and to stress that people are the same everywhere.

IF THE NORTH WERE THE SOUTH
(Si el Norte fuera el Sur)
Ricardo Arjona

The North with its Mc Donald's, basketball and Rock'n Roll
 Its topless, its Madonnas and the abdomen of Stallone
 Intellectuals of the tan, scholars of the supermarket
 They have everything but have paid for nothing

If you are 18 you are too young for a drink in a bar
 But you are grown-up enough for killing and for war
 Hooray for Vietnam and hooray for Forest Gump
 Hooray for Wall Street and hooray for Donald Trump
 Hooray for Seven-Eleven
 They powder their nose and have a syringe in their pockets
 They travel with marihuana to understand the situation
 Of this judge of the planet who issues an invitation
 Cut your husband's and you'll become famous

The stripes and the stars are taking over my flag
 And our freedom is only a whore
 And if the national debt stole our spring
 Geography go to hell, no more borders

If the North were the South
 The marginal would be the Sioux
 To be short and dark would be the most valued look
 Marcos would be the Mexican Rambo
 Cindy Crawford my countrymen's Menchu
 Reagan would be Somoza
 Fidel would be an athlete carrying bags in Wall Street
 And the Che would make hamburgers double-meat style
 The Yankees would wet their backs crossing to Tijuana
 And the boats would go from Miami to Havana
 If the North were the South

We would be the same, or maybe worse
 With the Malvinas by Greenland
 And a Disneyworld in Guatemala
 And Simón Bolívar breaking his secret
 Here comes edict 187, the Yankees expelled by law

The stripes and the stars are taking over my flag...

If the North were the South it would be the same crap
This song would not exist and I would sing a rap.

(Extracted from the album Si el Norte fuera el Sur, 1996).

4. Silvio Rodríguez, a much-travelled, much-applauded protest ("Nueva Trova") folk singer from Cuba has written several songs against oppressive governments. "Letter to Nicaragua," a celebration of the counteraction of U.S. interference in Nicaragua by the Sandinista movement, has been proclaimed by his followers (who, interestingly, include many right-wing advocates) as one of his best songs.

URGENT SONG FOR NICARAGUA
(Canción Urgente Para Nicaragua)

In Nicaragua
Another branding iron was broken
With which
the eagle marked the people
In Nicaragua
Another greased noose was broken
With which
the eagle leashed the worker

(The whole stanza
is sung twice)

The grass is burning
In the continent
The borders kiss each other
And become hot
I remember a man
That died for this
And that, when he saw this day
A ghost in the woods
Laughed joyfully

The specter is Sandino, with Bolívar and the Che
Because the three of them walked the same path
These three travellers
With identical luck
Have become giants
Have defeated death

(The whole stanza
is sung twice)

Now the eagle
Feels his biggest pain
Nicaragua hurts him

Because love hurts him
 It hurts him that the child
 Goes healthy to school
 Because the way
 Of justice and caring/affection
 Does not sharpen his spur
 Epa!

Nicaragua will walk
 Its glorious path
 Because wise blood
 Made its history
 A brother who has bled with you
 Tells you this
 A Cuban, a friend
 Tells you this.

(The whole stanza
 is sung twice)

(Extracted from the album Los Clásicos de Cuba 1: Los
 Grandes Éxitos de Silvio Rodríguez, 1991).

5. Finally, a song on the need for Latino unity in foreign
 lands by Gloria Estefan, a Cuban-American singer well-
 known in the Hispanic community of the United States.

LET'S SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE

(Hablemos el mismo idioma)

Emilio Estefan, Jr. and Gloria Estefan

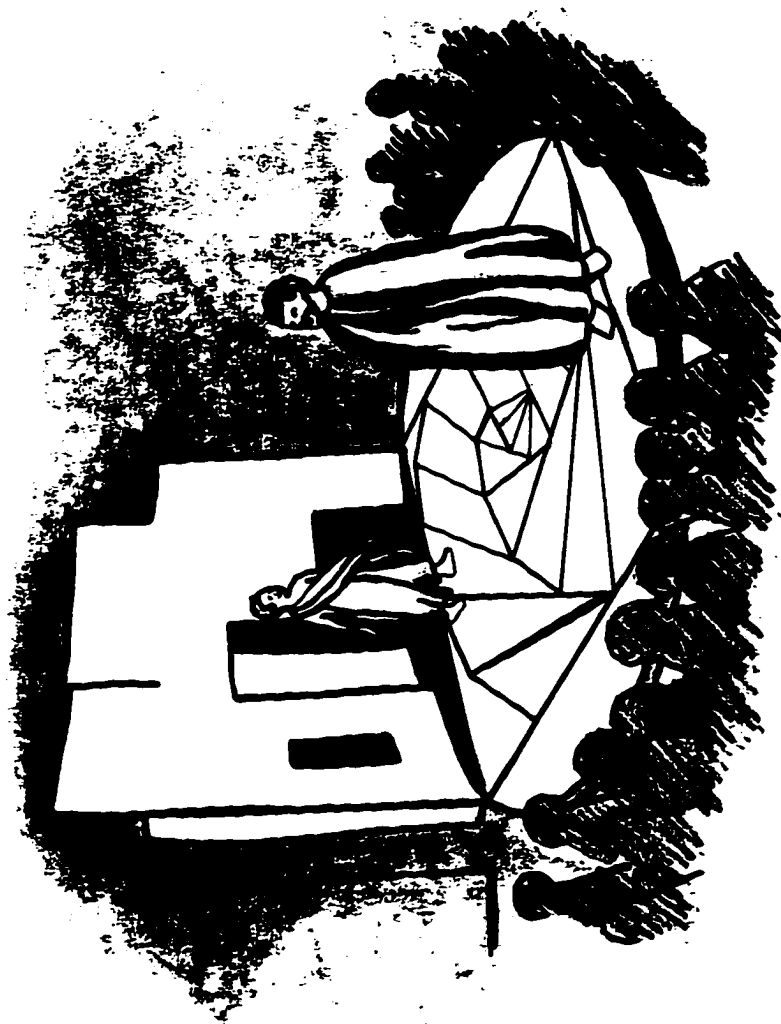
In life there are so many paths that we can
 choose to walk
 How ironic that they all lead to the same place
 In spite of all the differences that we tend
 to look for in each other
 We all breathe the same air and wake up to
 the same sun
 The same moon shines down on all of us
 And we all have the need to feel love
 We've already wasted so much time arguing
 about differences
 That should not exist between us
 The customs, races and inheritances
 that make me who I am
 Are like the colors of a rainbow, different
 chords in one song
 And words can become barriers when they
 don't come from the heart
 Let's speak the same language
 And that way things will go much better
Let's speak the same language

There are so many things worth fighting for
Let's speak the same language
 Only united can we achieve the things we want
Let's speak the same language
 It's never too late to begin
Let's speak the same language
 Under the flag of freedom
 If we think about it, we have so many things
 in common
 And it's better if the world hears us as one voice
 It's important to always look forward with strength and
 faith
 Let's forge some new paths with strength
 in our unity
 Proud of being Latin, it doesn't matter
 from "where"
 We can overcome anything
Let's speak the same language, give me your hand,
brother
 It doesn't matter where you're from, we're
 all brothers, you see
Let's speak the same language give me your hand,
my brother
 Let there be no differences between us,
 Hispanics
Let's speak the same language give me your hand,
my brother
 In this life we have to work for what we want
 to achieve
Let's speak the same language give me your hand,
my brother
 Words become barriers when they're not
 spoken from the heart
Let's speak the same language give me your hand
my brother
 It doesn't matter what race or religion we are,
 we're all brothers from the heart
Let's speak the same language give me your hand,
my brother
 If, as Latins we stand united, we can be
 very strong
Let's speak the same language give me your hand,
my brother.
 (Extracted from the album Mi Tierra, 1993).

APPENDIX B

This appendix contains a few illustrations by artist Lorena Ponce to help the reader visualize the four Latin American productions of *The Tempest*. Ponce replicated the details of each production's stage and the costumes of Prospero, Ariel and Caliban after studying numerous photographs taken from reviews or provided by the companies. The illustrations follow the pattern of my analysis: the first two are reproductions of Tomás Vidiella's production followed by two illustrations of La Bordada's, two of Rajatabla's, and two of the production by Por Amor Al Arte.

1. A view of El Conventillo's circular stage after Ariel has helped Prospero to attire as the Duke of Milan in 5.1.



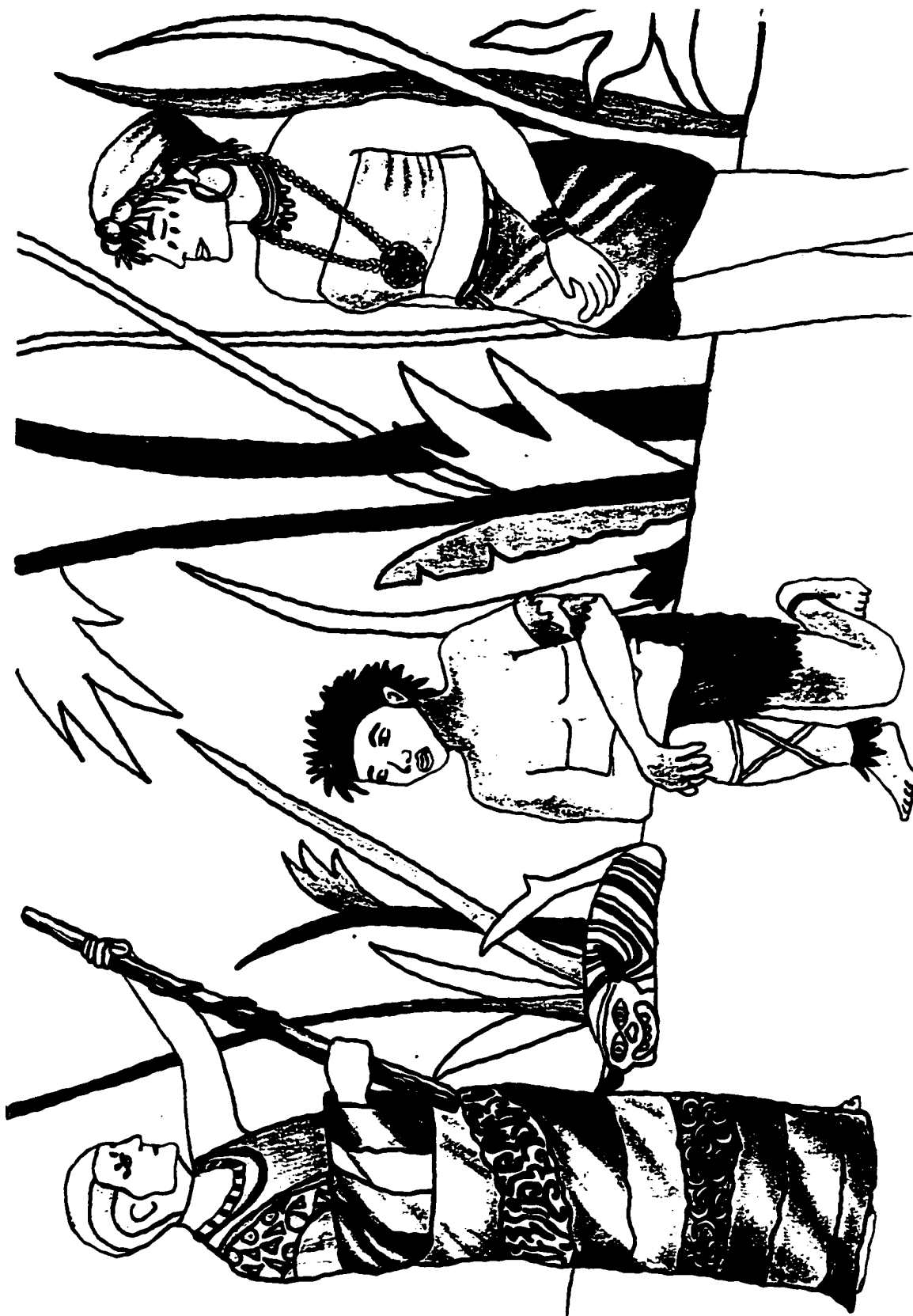
2. Clockwise from the top left: Ariel (Claudio Rodríguez), Prospero (Tomás Vidiella) and Caliban (Andrés del Bosque).



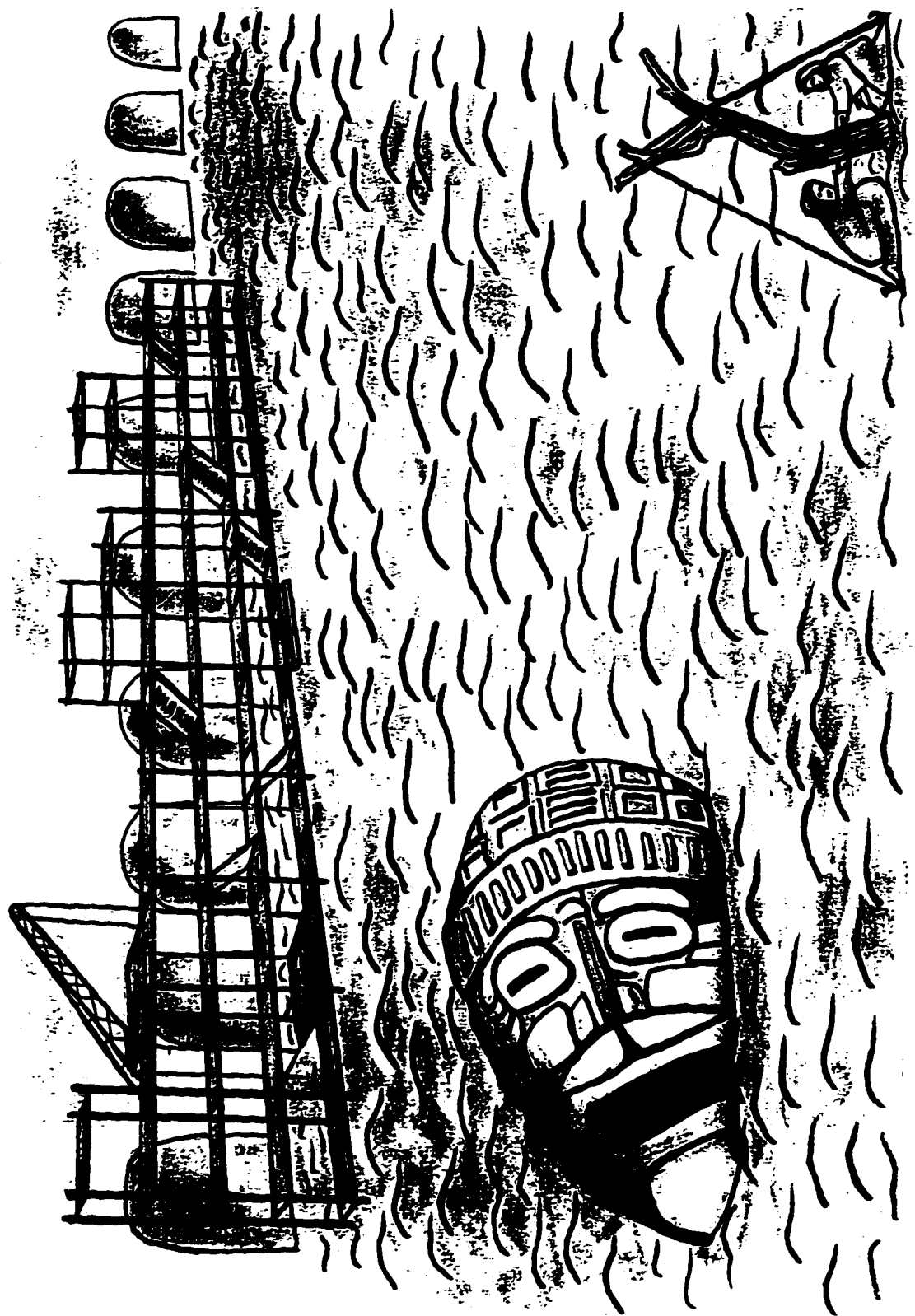
3. A view of La Bordada's painted jungle as it blends with the real trees behind the stage's wall. Two caricaturesque paper tigers are missing at the center of the stage.



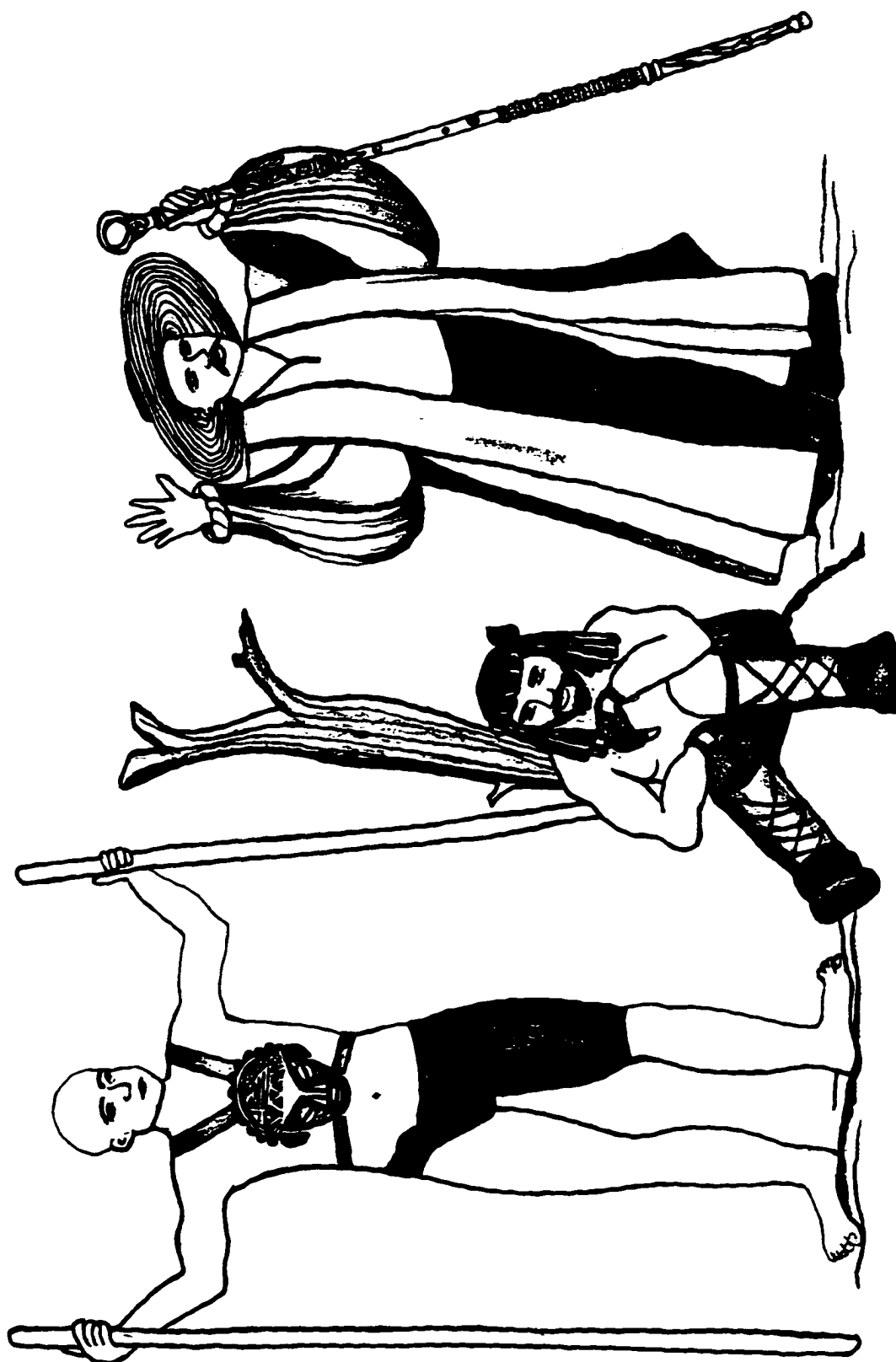
4. From left to right: Prospero (Héctor Viveros), Caliban (Rodrigo Muñoz) and Ariel (Paola Fernández).



5. A partial view of Rajatabla's misty stage at the Delacorte Theater during Caliban and Trinculo's encounter in 2.2.



6. From left to right: Ariel (Erich Wildpret), Caliban (Daniel López) and Prospero (José Tejera).



7. A view of the center and back stages of Por Amor Al Arte's production during Ariel's speeches to Alonso's court in 3.3. Ariel is disguised as a harpy



8. Clockwise from the top left: Ariel (Omar Alejandro Solórzano), Prospero (Juan José Martínez) and Caliban (Cosette Acevedo).



VITA

Ximena Gallardo began her career teaching English as a Second Language. After obtaining a master's degree from Louisiana State University in 1993, she decided to concentrate on drama and Renaissance literature, with a special attention to the plays of William Shakespeare. As a Chilean and a Latin American, she brings a unique perspective to the study of British literature in general, and specifically to this dissertation of Latin American appropriations of *The Tempest*. She will receive her doctor of philosophy degree from Louisiana State University in August of 1997, after which she will pursue a career in teaching.

DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

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Major Field: English

Title of Dissertation: Representing Shakespeare's "Brave New World":
Latin American Appropriations of The Tempest

Approved:

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May 13, 1997